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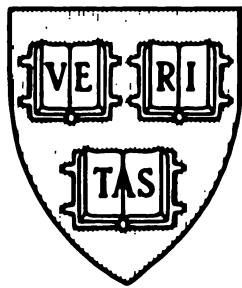
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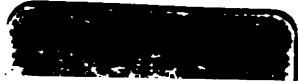
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THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC
AND THE
BATTLE OF THE PLAINS OF ABRAHAM

FIRST VOLUME



George Goulden in uniform

1914 - 1918

Fitzpatrick Edition

The Siege of Quebec
AND THE
Battle of the Plains of Abraham

BY
A. DOUGHTY
IN COLLABORATION WITH
G. W. PARMELEE



In six volumes, with Plans, Portraits and Views

FIRST VOLUME

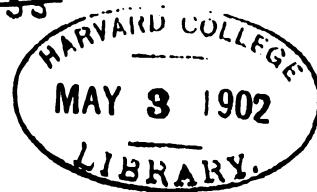


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George Hyatt Jr.

Field Marshal Lord Roberts, 1st G.C.B.
Photo by E. M. Hyatt, Jr.

To
Field Marshal
The Right Honourable Earl Roberts
K.G., K.P., G.C.B., G.C.I.E., V.C., D.C.L.
Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's Forces,
This Work
Setting forth the Achievements of
A Sometime Victorious British General
is respectfully dedicated
by permission

P R E F A C E.

The site of Wolfe's final operations against Quebec and the scene of his death have been subjects of discussion in Canada for several years past. During the year 1898, the "Battlefield Controversy" was renewed with vigour and a few monographs were written on the question.

These interesting contributions to history proved, however, to be little more than an interpretation of the writings of familiar authors. Although new evidence was not brought to light by this means, research was stimulated thereby, and investigation in different parts of Europe revealed the fact that the most reliable plans of the battle of the Plains of Abraham, as well as the most complete and authentic documents concerning the siege of Quebec, still remained unpublished. The scope of this work which was originally intended to be a study of the battle of the Plains, has therefore been enlarged, and it now embraces a history of the siege and the battle, and a sketch of the lives of the two commanders.

Besides the voluminous official correspondence relating to the campaign of 1759, which is to be found in public

archives, private papers of equal or greater value, have been preserved by the lineal representatives of some of the principal officers of the contending armies. The most interesting of these are the papers of General Wolfe, of the Marquess Townshend, of Brigadiers Monckton, Murray and de Bougainville, the Marquis de Montcalm and the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

A few months after the capitulation of Quebec, numerous pamphlets were printed containing relations of the siege, which probably had a very limited circulation at the time, and which are now exceedingly scarce; in some instances a single copy is now known to exist. These contemporary journals are of the highest value. First because they were written from personal observation, and secondly, because they relate to particular places.

Wolfe's army occupied three distinct camps—the Isle of Orleans, Montmorency, Point Levis—consequently the diary of an officer stationed for a long time at any of these places would not probably contain a very reliable summary of the daily operations at either of the other places. It is only, therefore, by consulting several journals written from different situations that we can obtain a comprehensive personal narrative of the siege.

Realizing the importance of studying every available account written by those who took part in the events narrated, the authors have obtained copies of twenty-three

distinct relations of the siege; and seventeen plans of the battle of the Plains of Abraham, seven of which are in manuscript. A large work could therefore be written on the subject, independent of the standard books which treat of this period of history.

Considering that several of the documents emanate from those who held important commissions in the army, and whose actions contributed largely to the achievements of the time, it has been deemed advisable to publish some of the papers in extenso, as an appendix to a narrative of the siege.

The papers and plans which form a part of these volumes, and those which the authors are unable to include within the compass of this work, elucidate many debated points of history; determine the site of the battle of the Plains of Abraham, and shed additional light on the characters of the principal actors in the drama of 1759.

In the collection of the data and in the preparation of these volumes, many distinguished persons have been pleased to lend a helping hand, without which it would not have been possible to accomplish the undertaking.

Monseigneur Laflamme, Dean of the Faculty of Arts in the University of Laval; the Honourable L.-A. Jetté, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, and the late Honourable F.-G. Marchand, Prime Minister, were among the first to exert their influence in behalf of the publication.

The authors desire to acknowledge in a special manner,

the generous aid and encouragement which have been extended to them by the Honourable Charles Fitzpatrick,
S. C., Solicitor General of Canada.

To the Honourable S. N. Parent, Prime Minister of the Province, and to the Members of the Executive Council,
the authors also express their thanks.

For the interesting papers which are published herein general acknowledgment is made to Madame la comtesse de Saint-Sauveur-Bougainville, of Saint-Germain-en-Laye; Miss Durfee of Worcester, of Priscilla; the Reverend Charles of the Ursuline Convent, Quebec; M. le comte de la Roncière, and M. le comte Rogerie, of Chambéry; Madame A. Gérard Barbin, of Poitiers; Professor P. A. Maffitte, of Nancy; Professor Richard Lange, of the University of S. Paulsburg; the Right Honourable the Honourable Justice, of Smith Hall, Yorkville; Daniel Macmillan, of F. D. & C. of Montreal; François Bourassa, Quebec; Lieutenant-General Bouchette, of the Forces Militaires; John Bell, of the Royal Naval Service Institution, Greenwich; J. A. Sommerville, Esq., Librarian of the British Museum; J. C. Langtry, Esq., of the Public Record Office, London; Dr. Johnson of Liverpool; W. H. Phillips, Esq., Washington; J. F. Townsend, Esq., Boston; W. C. Cole, Esq., Librarian of Harvard University; Dr. Davies of the Royal College of Surgeons, and J. G. Jackson, Esq., Cambridge, for Manuscripts.

Esq. M. P., London; C. Francis, Esq., London; and John Horn, Esq., of Montreal.

Many valuable paintings and objects of interest have been reproduced as illustrations to these volumes, for which the authors are indebted to the courtesy of the Right Honourable the Countess of Lonsdale, of Lowther Castle; the Reverend Ladies of the Ursuline Convent, and of the Hotel-Dieu, Quebec; the Right Honourable the Earl of Aberdeen; The Marquis de Montcalm; the Marquis de Lévis; M. le comte de Clermont-Tonnerre; Lord Barnard, of Raby Castle; Monseigneur Marois, V. G. and the Rev. L. St. G. Lindsay, Quebec; General, Sir Hugh Gough, V. C.; Sir H. A. Walsh, Bart.; Major Boileau, R. A.; Dr. Fisher; the Ministre de la Guerre, Paris; Scobell Armstrong, Esq., Penzance; H. T. Machin, Esq., F. C. Wurtele, Esq., E. J. Hale, Esq., Phileas Gagnon, Esq., of Quebec, Messrs Elliot & Fry, London, & Messrs Little Brown & Co. Boston.

The numerous publications of the Quebec Literary and Historical Society, the writings of the Abbé Casgrain, Parkman, Wright, Garneau, and the familiar journals of the siege, have also been consulted during the preparation of this work. For the biography of the Marquis de Montcalm, the authors are indebted to the Hon. Thos. Chapais, LL. D.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

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Photogravured by the Rembrandt Portrait Studio, from the painting in the National Gallery, London.

•**Field Marshal, Lord Roberts, K. G., V.C.**

Photogravured by Hyatt, from a photograph by Elliot & Fry, London.

•**Quebec House, the Home of General Wolfe.**

Collotyped by the Rembrandt Portrait Studio, London, from an engraving in the possession of Mr. Phileas Gagnon, Quebec.

•**Her Grace the Duchess of Bolton.**

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•**A General View of the City of Quebec at the commencement of the 19th Century.**

Collotyped by Hyatt from the original model by J. B. Duberger and Captain By, in the possession of the Royal Artillery Institution, Woolwich.

•**Fac-simile of a letter written by General Wolfe to Colonel Rickson.**

Collotyped by Hyatt, London, from a photograph by Inglass, of the original in the possession of the National Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

•**Brigadier Monckton.**

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•**The Pistols of General Wolfe.**

Collotyped by Hyatt, London, from a photograph of the originals in the possession of Dr Fisher, Hoboken, N. J.

•**Fac-simile of the first page of the manuscript book of the General Orders of Major, afterwards General Wolfe.**

Collotyped by the Rembrandt Portrait Studio, London, from the original in the possession of the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall.

•**Admiral Sir Charles Saunders.**

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•**Plan of Quebec.**

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•**Louis-Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm-Gozon de Saint-Véran.**

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•**Pierre-François Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal.**

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•Fac-simile of a letter signed by Montcalm.

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•Louis-Antoine de Bougainville.

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•Madame Flore de Bougainville.

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•Fac-simile of Marble Tablet erected to the memory of Montcalm in the Chapel of the Ursuline Convent, Quebec.

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•The Marquis de Lévis.

Photogravured by Hyatt, from a painting in the possession of the Marquis de Lévis, Paris.

•Plan of the Siege of Quebec.

After the original manuscript in the British Museum by Captain Delbeig, Engineer in Ordinary, Captain Holland, R. A., Asst Engineer, and Lieut. DesBarres, R. A. Assistant Engineer.

Lithographed in six colours by the Forbes Lithograph Manufacturing Co. Boston, from a copy made by E. L. Byrne.



RENOVIS DE QUEBEC DANS LE CANADA.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| A. Fort Saint-Louis. | N. l'Eglise de la basse Ville. |
| B. Redoute du Gip-Dormant. | O. Batterie de l'Audrevent. |
| C. Couvent du Moulin. | P. Batterie Dauphine. |
| D. les Recelots. | Q. Batterie Royale. |
| E. L'Hotel et collège des Jésuites et dépendances. | R. Batterie du Château. |
| F. Les Ursulines. | S. Batterie St-Louis. |
| G. La Paroisse et dépendances. | T. Batterie de la Glacière. |
| H. Prévôte. | V. derrière - Batterie de Robert. |
| I. Hôtel-Dieu. | X. Redoute St-Nicolas. |
| K. Saint-Roch. | Y. Redoute au Boisreau. |
| L. Le vaste du Matchot. | Z. Redoute St-Roch. |
| M. l'Intendance. | & C. Redoute de la Potasse. |

Les Anglais ont emporté de cette ville le 18 juillet 1759, presque tout leur artillerie pour le service de Paris.

EVENTS PRECEDING THE SIEGE

AN exemplification of the saying that the lives of great men form the history of their times can be found in these volumes. The progress of the Seven Years' War in America can be traced in the lives of Wolfe and Montcalm, more particularly in the life of the latter hero, who from his coming to Canada in 1756 till his death in 1759 stands out conspicuous amongst friends and foes alike. With his death the crisis passed, and although the war still lingered the interest of the reader of history is hardly raised again above the normal, by the heroic but unavailing efforts of Levis in the spring of 1760. Wolfe appears upon the scene of conflict in 1758 before Louisbourg, and the story of his actions becomes the narrative of the Siege.

In the following year, the heroes who represented the two greatest nations of their time had a common sphere of action, and played their parts as became the noble races from which they sprang. The story of the Siege of Quebec is the life of Wolfe and Montcalm for a few brief months, and their lives the story of the Siege.

It is assumed that those readers who consult so voluminous a work as this upon so short an epoch are, at least, fairly familiar with the events preceding the final struggle for supremacy in America. We may, however, offer a few



observations upon the part of the seven years' war in America which was anterior to the appearance of Montcalm or Wolfe.

In the first place, if we do not consider the technical date of war, as determined by the formal declarations, but the date of actual hostilities, we see that "The seven years' War" is a misnomer.

The French had possessed themselves by right of discovery and military occupation of vast stretches of country which they might expect to hold by colonization, but which, as we now know, they never could have done.

Bordering upon these lands for thousand of miles, were the settlements of the British people, who came to stay, to make homes, and to seek more lands when and where they needed them. The story of the collisions and conflicts, local in their character at first, we shall not follow. It is a tale of alleged aggression and trespass on the one hand, and alleged interference on the other.

It is the story, too, of gallant men and gallant deeds, intermingled with tales of alleged injustice and inhumanity; of a powerful, comparatively wealthy, and numerous people harassed and finally held at bay by a handful of resourceful, courageous men whose dominant military spirit was worth more than wealth or numbers. At last the stronger nation, stronger at sea as well as on land, stronger in its institutions and material resources, roused itself under the influence of its great war minister and the end came, as come it must in all unequal contests.

Although the French and English were actually at war in America for several years to the knowledge and



with the connivance of the mother countries, France and England chose to ignore the fact officially while each was preparing for the fray.

At last the pretence of peace could no longer be maintained and the formal declarations of war were issued. As they give a summary of events, and of grievances against each other, we deem it advisable to reproduce them here as an introduction to the story which is begun in this volume with the life of Wolfe.

These declarations are taken from "An Impartial History of the Late War, deduced from the committing of Hostilities in 1749 to the signing of the Definitive Treaty of Peace in 1763."—Second Edition, London, 1763.

HIS MAJESTY'S DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST
THE FRENCH KING

George Rex.

The unwarrantable proceedings of the French in the West Indies and North America, since the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and the usurpations and incroachments made by them upon our territories, and the settlements of our subjects in those parts, particularly in our province of Nova Scotia, have been so notorious, and so frequent, that they cannot but be looked upon as a sufficient evidence of a formed design and resolution in that court to pursue invariably such measures as should most effectually promote their ambitious views, without

any regard to the most solemn treaties and engagements. We have not been wanting on our part to make, from time to time, the most serious representations to the French King upon these repeated acts of violence, and to endeavour to obtain redress and satisfaction for the injuries done to our subjects, and to prevent the like causes of complaint for the future; but though frequent assurances have been given, that everything should be settled agreeably to the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and particularly that the evacuations of the four neutral islands in the West Indies should be effected, (which was expressly promised to our ambassador in France) the execution of these assurances, and of the treaties on which they were founded, has been evaded under the most frivolous pretences and the unjustifiable practices of the French governors, and of the officers acting under their authority, were still carried on, till, at length, in the month of April 1754, they brooke out into open acts of hostility, when in the time of profound peace, without any declaration of war, and without any previous notice given, or application made, a body of French forces, under the command of an officer bearing the French King's commission, attacked in a hostile manner, and possesed themselves of the English fort on the Ohio in North America.

But notwithstanding this act of hostility, which could not but be looked upon as a commencement of war; Yet from our earnest desire of peace, and in hopes the court of France would disavow this violence and injustice, we contented ourselves with sending such a force to America, as was indispensably necessary for the immediate defence

and protection of our subjects against fresh attacks and insults.

In the mean time great naval armaments were preparing in the ports of France, and a considerable body of French troops embarked for North America ; and though the French Ambassador was sent back to England with specious professions of a desire to accommodate these differences, yet it appeared, that their real design was only to gain time for the passage of those troops to America, which they hoped would secure the superiority of the French forces in those parts, and enable them to carry their ambitious and oppressive projects into execution.

In these circumstances we could not but think it incumbent upon us to endeavour to prevent the success of so dangerous a design, and to oppose the landing of the French troops in America ; and in consequence of the just and necessary measures we had taken for that purpose, the French ambassador was immediately recalled from our court ; the fortifications at Dunkirk, which had been preparing for some time were enlarged ; great bodies of troops marched down to our coast, and our Kingdoms were threatened with an invasion.

In order to prevent the execution of these designs, and to provide for the security of our Kingdoms, which were thus threatened, we could no longer forbear giving orders for the seizing at sea the ships of the French King, and his subjects ; notwithstanding which, as we were still unwilling to give up all hopes that an accommodation might be effected, we had contented ourselves hitherto with detaining the said ships, and preserving them, and (as far

as possible) their cargoes entire, without proceeding to the confiscation of them: but it being now evident, by the hostile invasion actually made by the French King of our island of Minorca that it is the determined resolution of that court to hearken to no terms of peace, but to carry on the war, which has been long begun on their part, with the utmost violence, we can no longer remain consistently with what we owe to our own honor, and to the welfare of our subjects, within those bounds which, from a desire of peace, we had hitherto observed.

We have therefore thought proper to declare war, and we do hereby declare war, against the French King, who hath so unjustly begun it, relying on the help of almighty God in our just undertaking, and being assured of the hearty concurrence and assistance of our subjects in support of so good a cause; hereby willing and requiring our captain-general of our forces, our commissioners for executing the office of our high admiral of Great Britain, our lieutenants of our federal countries, governors or their forts and garrisons, and all other officers and soldiers, by sea and land, to do and execute all acts of hostility, in the prosecution of this war, against the French King, his vassals and subjects, and to oppose their attempts; willing and requiring all our subjects to take notice of the same, whom we hence forth strictly forbid to hold any correspondence or communication with the said French King or his subjects: and we do hereby command our own subjects, and advertise all other persons of what nation soever, not to transport or carry any soldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or other contraband goods, to any of the territories,

lands, plantations, or countries of the said French King ; declaring, that whatsoever ship or vessel shall be met withal, transporting or carrying any soldiers, arms, powder, ammunition, or any other contraband goods, to any of the territories, lands, plantations or countries of the said French King ; the same being taken, shall be condemned as good and lawful prize.

And whereas there are remaining in our kingdom of the subjects of the French King, we do hereby declare our royal intention to be, that all the French subjects, who shall demean themselves dutifully towards us, shall be safe in their persons and effects.

Given at our court at Kensington, the 17th day of May 1756, in the 29th year our reign.

God save the King.

THE FRENCH KING'S DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST THE
KING OF ENGLAND, DATED AT VERSAILLES, JUNE 9th,
1756, AND PROCLAIMED AT PARIS THE 10th.

By the King.

All Europe knows that the King of England was the aggressor against the possessions of the King in North America ; and that in the month of June, last year, the English Navy, in contempt of the law of nations, and the faith of treaties, began to exercise the most violent hostilities against his Majesty's ships, and against the navigation and commerce of his subjects. The King, justly

offended with this treachery, and the insult offered to his flag, suspended, during eight months, the effects of his resentment, and what he owed to the dignity of his crown, only through the fear of exposing Europe to the calamities of a new war." "Twas with this salutary view that France at first only opposed the injurious proceeding of England by the most moderate behaviour. At the time that the English navy was taking, by the means of the most odious violence, and sometimes by the basest artifices, the French ships that sailed with confidence under the protection of the public faith, his Majesty sent back to England a frigate which had been taken by the French navy, and the English ships continued their trade unmolested in the ports of France. At the time that the French soldiers and sailors were treated with the greatest severity in the British Islands, and that the behaviour, with respect to them, was carried beyond the bounds prescribed by the law of nature and humanity to the most rigorous rights of war, the English travelled and inhabited freely in France, under the protection of that regard which civilized people reciprocally owe to each other. At the time that the English ministers, under the appearance of good faith, imposed upon the King's ambassador by false protestations, at that very time they were putting in execution, in all parts of North America, orders that were directly contrary to the deceitful assurances they gave of an approaching accommodation. At the time that the court of London was draining the arts of intrigue, and the subsidies of England, in order to stir up other powers against the court of France, the King did not even acquire of them those succors which, by guar-

anties and defensive treaties, he was authorised to demand ; and only advised them to such measures as were necessary for their own peace and security.

Such has been the conduct of the two nations. The striking contrast of these proceedings ought to convince all Europe of the views of jealousy, ambition and avarice, which incite the one, and of the principles of honour, justice, and moderation, upon which the other behaves. The King was in hopes that the King of England, purely from a consideration of the rules of equity and his own honour, would have disavowed the scandalous excess which his sea officers continually committed. His Majesty had even furnished him with an opportunity of so doing, in a just and becoming manner, by demanding the speedy and intire restitution of the French ships taken by the English navy, and had offered him, upon that preliminary condition, to enter into a negotiation with regard to the other satisfactions which he had a right to expect, and to listen to an amicable reconciliation of the differences concerning America.

The King of England having rejected this proposition, the King could not but look upon his refusal, as the most authentic declaration of war, as His Majesty had declared he should do in his requisition.

The British court might therefore have dispensed with a formality which was become unnecessary ; a more essential motive should have engaged it not to submit to the judgement of Europe the pretended grievances which the King of England alledged against France, in the declaration of war which he caused to be published at London.

The right implications contained in that work, have in reality no foundation, and the manner in which they are set forth would be sufficient to prove their weakness, if their validity had not already been strongly demonstrated in the material which the King caused to be delivered at all points concerning the substances of the facts with the greatest interest as far as relates to the present war, and the importance which preceded it.

There is nevertheless one important fact, which is not mentioned in that document, because it was impossible to know that England would carry, as far as she has done, her war of robbery in finding new ways to impose upon the publick. The point in question is the works erected at Dunkirk and the troops which the King caused to be assembled upon the sea coast.

Now, would not think by the King of England's declaration it was that these two bodies occasioned the order for guns to stand at sea the ships belonging to the King and his subjects? And yet nothing is ignorant that the works at Dunkirk were not begun long till after the taking of one of His Majesty's ships which were attacked in a time of full peace by a squadron of fifteen English men of war. It is likewise equally known by everybody, that the English Marine had seized upon French ships for more than twelve weeks towards the end of February last, the first indication that the King sent to the sea coast upon these wars.

If the King of England ever reflected upon the treachery of the agents that were made at that time but these measures, how can he imagine those who engaged him so

advance facts, the supposition of which cannot even be coloured by the least specious appearances ?

What the King owes to himself, and what he owes to his subjects, has at length obliged him to repel force by force ; but being faithfully attached to his natural sentiments of justice and moderation, his majesty has only directed his military operations against the King of England, his aggressor ; and all his political negotiations have been carried on with no other view but to justify the confidence which the other nations in Europe place in his friendship, both by sea and land.

It would be needless to enter into a more ample detail of the motives which forced the King to send a body of his troops into the island of Minorca, and which at present oblige his Majesty to declare war against the King of England, as does hereby declare it, both by sea and land.

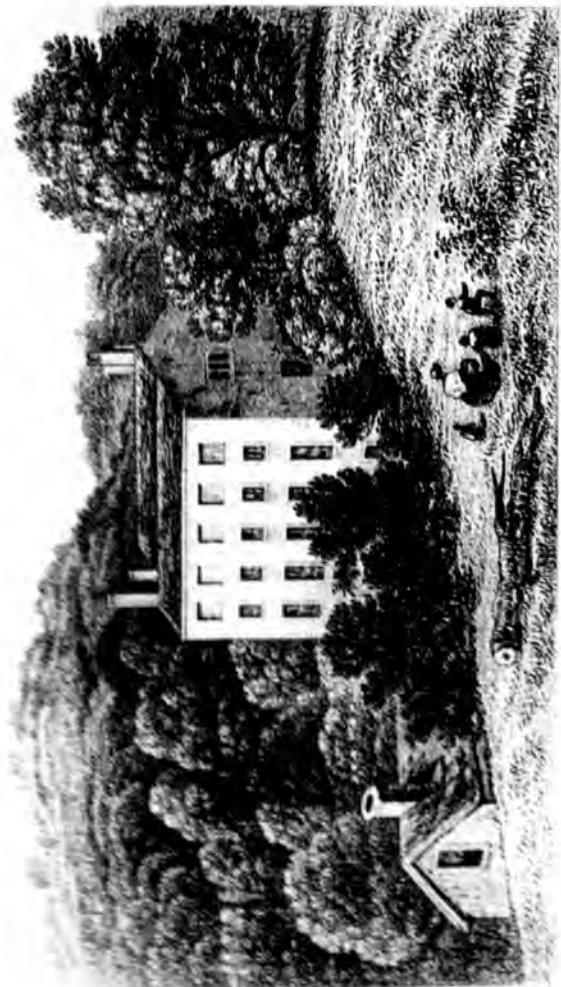
By acting upon principles so worthy of determining his resolutions, he is secure of finding, from the justice of his cause, the valour of his troops, and the love of his subjects, those resources which he has always experienced on their part ; and he relies principally upon the protection of the God of armies.

His Majesty orders and enjoins all his subjects, vassals and servants, to fall upon the subjects of the King of England, and expressly prohibits all communication, commerce, and intelligence with them, upon pain of death ; in consequence of which his majesty revokes all permissions, pass-ports, safe-conducts, etc., contrary to these presents, whether granted by his majesty, or any of his officers, further commanding the admiral and marshals of France,

and all sea and land officers, to see that the contents of this declaration be duly executed within their several jurisdictions, for such is his majesty's will, as it is, that these presents be published, and fixed up, in all the towns and seaports of this kingdom, that none may plead ignorance thereof.

Done at Versailles the 9th of June, 1756.

Signed LOUIS,
And underneath ROUILLE.



Home of General Wolfe

CHAPTER I.

JAMES WOLFE.

HIS BOYHOOD.

ON the 2nd day of January, in the year 1727, was born in Westerham, Kent, one whose name was destined to have a place amongst the first half dozen of British Generals, and to be associated forever with Canada. Yorkshire claimed the honour of being his birthplace, but the parish records of the Kentish village as well as other testimony, leave no doubt as to the truth.⁽¹⁾

(1) In Gleig's Lives of British Military commanders, it is stated that Wolfe was born on the 6th. of November 1726.

Mr. Gleig appears to have been led into error by attributing a letter of Wolfe written in 1751 to that date. In this letter Wolfe says: "The winter wears away, so do our years, and so does life itself.—This day am I five and twenty years of age." As his letters were usually written on detached sheets, it happened that this sheet belonging really to a letter of December 2nd., 5th., 1751, O. S., January 2nd., 5th., 1752, N. S., was misplaced in the arrangement of his correspondence. A careful reading of the whole letter and a comparison with previous ones clearly show that this sheet in question could not have been written on Nov. 6th at all. Besides, Wolfe's meditative mood could hardly excuse the declaration that winter was wearing away on the 6th. of November in Scotland, where then he was.

Gleig's error has been repeated by many writers, a fact of no importance except to those who expect accuracy from an historian, especially when by giving a definite date he pretends to it.

According to the Parish Register, James Wolfe was baptized on the 11th of January, 1727.

His father was a Colonel Edward Wolfe who was born in 1685, in the north of England and who had served with Marlborough in Flanders as brigade major in the year 1708. Being but twenty-three years of age at this time, he must have been an officer of singular ability, and as he had no family connections or influence of any kind to give him aid to promotion, we must suppose that he rose upon his merits, and that had opportunities offered he would have gained greater distinction.

With the treaty of Utrecht came a long period of peace and national prosperity under the administration of Walpole, but the renowned victories of peace brought neither glory nor reputation to the soldier. At forty years of age, Col. Wolfe married Henrietta Thompson, of Marsden, Yorkshire, a woman of unusual beauty, intelligence and force of character. To these were born two sons, James and Edward, the latter being but a year younger than his brother. The hero of Louisbourg and Quebec would appear then to have been of pure English parentage. However, such is not the case. So far as can be learned, the Wolfes were a Welsh family who migrated to Ireland, possibly to repair their broken fortunes or to better their condition as so many others did some three hundred years ago. At any rate, they are known to have been an influential family in Limerick in the 16th century. In 1605, a James Woulfe, a bailiff of Limerick, and in 1613 a George Woulfe a Sheriff, were deposed for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. Evidently they had become Irish in their sympathies. Later, during the war of the Commonwealth (1651) a Friar Woulfe and his brother Captain George

Woulfe, grandsons of the Sheriff just mentioned, gave so much trouble at the siege of Limerick that they were not included in the general amnesty after the capitulation. The Friar was executed, but his brother escaped to England, the very place which one would expect him to avoid.

He settled in the north of England, married, became Protestant, and was, it is said, the great-grandfather of General James Wolfe. Those who are interested in the study of national characteristics can easily see in the life and actions of Wolfe the impetuosity, dash and brilliancy of the Irish, combined with the more stolid and not less courageous Anglo-Saxon nature.

His early youth was passed at Westerham where he attended the school kept by a Mr. Laurence, till about eleven years of age, when his father removed to Greenwich. Here he finished his school life under the tuition of the Reverend S. F. Swindon,⁽¹⁾ an excellent scholar and a capable teacher. In his school work, he showed none of that precocity of intellect that has distinguished the youth of so many great men, his great rival Montcalm, for instance. He appears in fact to have been an ordinary lad of feeble constitution, great filial affection and with a taste for his father's calling.

While at Westerham, he formed a life-long attachment for George Warde, a youth some two years his senior, who was destined for the army, and at Greenwich he shared

(1) The Reverend Samuel Francis Swindon, "the much esteemed friend and tutor" of Wolfe, was Rector of Greenwich. (See note by Miss Armstrong on "Highmore" portrait of Wolfe, in Notes to Illustrations.)

his scholastic toils with John Jervis, afterwards Lord St. Vincent.⁽¹⁾

The piping times of peace came to an end with the death of Queen Caroline. She had exercised a restraining influence over the King's politics, if she could not direct his morals. She had steadily supported Walpole and his policy of peace though the King was a soldier and inclined to a vigorous foreign policy.

A quarrel with Spain that should have been settled by diplomacy forced Walpole into an imprudent, but a popular war, which was proclaimed with all the enthusiasm and jubilation of a latter day victory.

Six additional regiments of Marines were raised and Lt. Col. Wolfe received his commission as Colonel and assumed command of one of them. Perhaps young Wolfe felt more interest in the war than his father did, for he was permitted to see a camp upon Blackheath, for him no doubt a stirring sight.

Certain it is that when the father was made adjutant general of the 10,000 troops that were about to embark for Cartagena he was prevailed upon to take James, then thirteen years of age, with him. Mrs. Wolfe had protested in vain against an action so frightful to a mother's heart, and had changed her tactics in order to play upon the tenderest feelings of the youth to induce him to stay with her. How she succeeded may be seen from the following extracts from Wolfe's first letter to her:

(1) It is stated on good authority that on the eve of the battle of the Plains General Wolfe entrusted to John Jervis, afterwards Lord St. Vincent, the miniature of Miss Lowther, which was delivered to the general's mother by Captain Bell, A. D. C. (see Notes to Illustrations).



Her Grace the Duchess of Bolton.
From the miniature by Cotes in the possession of Lord Barnard of Reby Castle Darlington.

NEWPORT, Isle of Wight, August 6th 1740.

Dear Madam,

I received my dearest Mamma's letter on Monday last, but could not answer it then, by reason I was at camp to see the regiments off to go on board, and was too late for the post; but am very sorry, dear Mamma, that you doubt my love, which I am sure is as sincere as ever any son's was to his mother.

Papa and I are just now going on board, but I believe shall not sail this fortnight; in which time, if I can get ashore at Portsmouth or any other town, I will certainly write to you, and when we are gone, by every ship we meet, because I know it is my duty. Besides, if it was not, I would do it out of love, with pleasure... I am in a very good state of health, and am likely to continue so...

Even at that age, as well as through life, a good state of health could not be safely predicted for him. In this case good luck, if there be such a thing, succeeded, even though the mother had failed, in inducing her son to stay at home. The fleet did not sail within two weeks, nor within two months, and during this time the young volunteer fell ill and was sent back to his home and his books. During the whole of his life he was a notoriously bad sailor and it is doubtful whether he could have survived the disastrous expedition and the horrors of the hospital ships. The tale as told by Smollet in "Roderick Random," even after allowances are made for the novelist's licence is simply appalling.

As the after life of Wolfe shows, the next year and a half at school were well spent. Near the close of the year 1741, while he was spending the Christmas holidays in his native village as the guest of his friend George Warde, he received his first commission. It was dated Nov. 3rd and made him second lieutenant in his father's regiment of Marines.

He did not go into service, apparently, under this commission, for his father's regiment had not returned in April when he was found carrying the colours of the 12th Regiment of Foot at a review of the army which was destined for service against France. However, the day upon which he received his first commission, with all the incidents in connection with it, was still fresh in the memories of his friends of Squerryes Court when his brilliant career was closed in victory on the Plains of Abraham. While all England was rejoicing in his triumph and sorrowing for his death, his friends thought it seemly to raise a memorial to him upon the spot where he stood when he first received authority to act as a British officer. Accordingly, there now stands on the south side of the house a pedestal surmounted by an urn. Upon the base are several inscriptions, these lines amongst the rest :

" Here first was Wolfe with martial ardour fired,
Here first with glory's brightest flame inspired ;
This spot so sacred will forever claim
A proud alliance with its hero's name. "

CHAPTER II.

WOLFE IN ACTIVE SERVICE.

As might have been expected, Walpole's conduct of the war into which he had been forced in 1739 by the popular cry and the factious opposition of his political enemies was weak and inglorious. The minister whose policy is peace is not the man to make war.

A secret compact had existed between Spain and France since 1733, and when Admiral Vernon captured Porto Bello, France made a formal declaration to the effect that she would not permit any English settlement on the mainland of South America.

Despite his previously effective methods of securing support, Walpole's majority was slowly but surely fading away, until his belated retirement as Earl of Oxford into the obscurity of the House of Lords was forced upon him.

The control of foreign affairs fell into the hands of Carteret, who at once plunged the nation into a continental war in which the interests were considerably complicated. Carteret hoped to unite Austria and Prussia and thus put a check upon the growing power of France.

The young soldier entered service therefore with every

prospect of soon being under fire. Exactly one month after the date of his commission a review of the army upon Blackheath was held by King George II., and the ensign Wolfe attached to Duroure's regiment first appeared in his military capacity. He was soon with the allied forces in Ghent from where he wrote some interesting letters. It may here be remarked that his fond mother carefully preserved every letter that reached her from her son during his whole life, and in consequence of this fact an unusually good estimate can now be made of his character, while his letters to his father and to his military friends, as well as his dispatches and general orders, show the professional side of his life with great clearness.

He left Ghent with Duroure's regiment for Germany in February 1743 and on the march suffered hardships such as his strength was hardly equal to. He was soon joined by his brother Edward, whose health was delicate, but who was anxious for a soldier's life and had secured an ensigncy in the same regiment. James Wolfe wrote from the camp near Aschaffenburg on the 21st of June 1743 his longest and most important letter up to this time. From it we learn that his brother had been under fire and that he himself had been doing the duty of an adjutant ever since the army had encamped. The Brigadier was "extremely civil" to him and desired his Brigade Major, Mr. Blakeney, to instruct him all he could in his duties. As Wolfe was but sixteen years of age when he assumed this important office and secured such attention from his superior officers, his talents and early maturity of judgment must have been striking. Even admitting this, one must wonder at

the condition of the British army when such rapid promotion could be possible under any circumstances. As a matter of fact the army was, and had been for years, in a wretched state as to its officers. In time of peace the army was disbanded and the officers were put on half pay, which was insufficient to support them and their families. There being no inducements to enter the service, commissions were taken out, as a rule, by an inferior class of men of good birth who adopted the profession of arms without capacity or intention to perform their duties, while unusual merit without influence at court could never expect recognition. As a result of the system or lack of system the British army was worse officered than any European army, and won its battles, when it did win, by the pluck and endurance of the soldiery.

Admiral Byng, to be sure, was executed a few years later "pour encourager les autres," as Voltaire wittily said, but it took England a long time to adopt rational army methods. These facts on the whole do not much lessen our surprise at the preferment of the youthful Wolfe whose earnestness of purpose was quite as conspicuous as his ability throughout his whole career. He had not long to fulfil the duties as adjutant until he was called upon to do so in the important battle of Dettingen. Many detailed accounts of this battle have been written but none has been made more interesting than that of Wolfe in a letter to his father.

The Confederate army was confined within a valley, between mountains on one side and the river Maine on the other, across which was the French army of 60,000 men

commanded by the Duc de Noailles, one of the most distinguished strategists of his age. King George II. was in command of the allied forces consisting of 40,000 British and Hanoverian troops with several Austrian regiments. It is worthy of remark that this was the last occasion upon which an English monarch appeared upon the battle field. His army was in a sad plight. Its reinforcements of 12,000 men at Hanau were intercepted, while the men were fatigued after a long march, and reduced in strength and spirits by starvation. There were but two courses open, surrender or retreat. The King resolved on the latter alternative and attempted to retreat without engagement through a defile near the little village of Dettingen. When the intention of the English was discovered, de Noailles detached a large part of his army under his nephew, the Duc de Grammont, to cross the river and intercept the retiring enemy at the defile, while the French artillery opened a deadly fire. As de Grammont's division crossed the bridge the English King halted, and formed in line of battle. The impetuous and confident Frenchman accepted the challenge at once, and instead of awaiting the retreating army at the defile he marched into the open and met his enemy on equal terms. This fatal error exposed de Grammont's men to the batteries of de Noailles which had to be discontinued while they were still doing great execution against the enemy.

De Noailles advanced the rest of the army to reinforce de Grammont, but the assistance was of no avail. The French retreated, and while recrossing the bridge suffered greatly from the artillery which the now victorious army

played upon them. However, so satisfied was Lord Stair with the sudden change from impending destruction to victory that the French army was allowed to withdraw without the further loss that might easily have been inflicted upon it, while the Confederates retired to Hanau leaving their dead and wounded on the field. The tactics employed, in Duroure's regiment at least, are interesting as furnishing a parallel to those of Wolfe on the 13th of September 1759. He says : "The Major and I (for we had neither Colonel nor Lt. Colonel,) before they came near, were employed in begging and ordering the men not to fire at too great a distance, but to keep it till the enemy should come near us, but to little purpose. The whole fired when they thought they could reach them, which had like to have ruined us."

Wolfe's letter to his father whose indulgence might have encouraged, or overlooked, a little boasting on such an occasion is singularly free from personal references, but if he had no praise for himself we may be sure that he quitted himself like a man, for five days later he was made adjutant of his regiment by royal commission, and in a few days more received his lieutenancy.

The English army reached Hanau where it was joined by reinforcements but no effort was made to follow up the success. The victory had been small, but its results were prodigious. The French army dispirited by a reverse under such circumstances retired from the German territory, and prospects of peace were bright.

However, the war continued. Louis XV. took the field in May with 120,000 men who, under the generalship of



the brilliant Marechale Saxe went from victory to victory, the allies losing successively Courtrai, Menin and Ypres. Wolfe, who took his captaincy at seventeen years of age in the Fourth, or the King's Regiment of Foot, commanded by Lt. General Barrell, was in none of the engagements at these places.

In the month of October the younger brother, weakened by disease and unable to endure longer the hardships of a soldier's life, passed away. James, who could not join him during his illness, wrote to his mother from Ghent a letter which shows his fine literary instinct, his scholarly taste, his tendency to introspection, and a certain dignity of tone which characterizes all his letters. He says : " Poor Ned wanted nothing but the satisfaction of seeing his dearest friends to leave the world with the greatest tranquillity. He often called on us. It gives me many uneasy hours when I reflect on the possibility there was of my being with him before he died. God knows it was being too exact, and not apprehending the danger the poor fellow was in ; and even that would not have hindered it had I received the physician's first letter. I know you won't be able to read this paragraph without shedding tears, as I do writing it ; but there is a satisfaction in giving way to grief now and then. " 'Tis what we owe the memory of a dear friend." . . . " There was in him the prospect (when ripened with experience) of good understanding and judgment, and an excellent soldier. You'll excuse my dwelling so long on this cruel subject, but in relating this to you, vanity and partiality are banished. A strong desire to do justice to his memory occasions it.

"There was no part of his life that makes him dearer to me than that where you have often mentioned—*he pined after me*. It often makes me angry that any hour of my life should pass without thinking of him... Nature is ever too good in blotting out the violence of affliction. For all tempers (as mine is) too much given to mirth, it is often necessary to revive grief in one's memory."

Much against his will Wolfe remained during the winter at Ghent where he might naturally have been expected to have little to do. However he was of that tense nature that could not rest, and instead of passing his time in idleness or routine work he gave it up to the study of his chosen profession.

In the spring of 1745 the campaign was again opened in Flanders by the allied forces of England, Austria, Holland and Saxony, under the Austrian General Königsegg. Dettingen was revenged by the battle of Fontenoy, Ghent fell after a five days siege, and Ostend surrendered. England's only success was gained by Pepperel and his New England volunteers who, though only 4000 strong, captured Cape Breton after a seven weeks siege of Louisburg. This success was counted of so little value that it was hardly regarded as a bright spot in the gloom which settled over England when with her troops engaged on the continent, she had practically none left to defend her shores against the last of the Stuarts. Charles Edward, grandson of James the Second, took heart when England became embroiled abroad, and in 1744 had planned a descent upon the shores of Scotland with French troops and French armament. His plan was frustrated by a storm which scattered his fleet,

and by the withdrawal of the French troops to engage in the war in Flanders. He now landed with but seven followers in the north, and after a few weeks of discouragement he raised the Jacobite clan, marched through Blair Athol, took the Scottish capital, was proclaimed James the Eighth, and defeated the Royalists under Cope at Preston Pans by a reckless rush with the claymore. His forces now doubled under the encouragement of victory and with 6,000 men he invaded England and marched as far as Derby. But neither the Lowlanders nor the Catholics of Lancashire added to his forces. Walpole's policy had brought prosperity in the train of peace, and the hateful house of Hanover had become tolerable even to the English Jacobites and Tories. Sentiment which counts for so much in the affairs of life was not strong enough to induce rebellion contrary to self interest. From Carlisle to Derby, Prince Charlie's accessions did not amount to more than two hundred. Learning that superior forces were advancing upon him from different quarters and that an army protected London, he retreated to Glasgow where he was reinforced. With some 9,000 men he attacked the English army that had followed him to the north and at Falkirk repeating his tactics repeated his victory. The victory was claimed, however, by both sides, a fact which shows the indecisive nature of it.

The elder Wolfe was present at the battle of Falkirk as General of Division, and his son, who had received his commission on the continent acted as Brigade Major of Barrell's regiment. In a letter to his uncle, William Lotheron, of Pomfret, he declared that the affair was only



an encounter, not a battle, as neither side would fight, and that although the Royalists could not be said to have totally routed the enemy they remained a long time masters of the field and of their cannon, not one of which would have been lost if the drivers had not left their carriages and run off with the horses. As it was they left Falkirk and part of their camp because the ammunition of the army was wet and spoiled, but their retreat was in no way molested as affecting their superiority. He thought that with favourable weather the rebellion could be ended in a short time. Marshal Wade had been succeeded in command by "hangman Hawley," who retreated to Edinburgh while the insurgents took possession of the town of Falkirk.

The Duke of Cumberland was soon appointed commander-in-chief and the army was reinforced. The cruel severity of the Duke and of Hawley are well known, but an incident occurred in Aberdeen, where they soon went and remained to rest the army, which calls for special notice because of the fact that Wolfe's name is somewhat unpleasantly connected with it.

General Hawley occupied the house of a Mrs. Gordon. She complained that one Major Wolfe came to her and said that by the orders of the Duke of Cumberland and General Hawley she was to be deprived of everything she had except the clothes on her back. After giving this message he said that the General had, upon enquiry, found that she had nothing to do with the rebellion and in consequence, he, the General, would make interest with the Duke that she might have any particular thing she wished, that she

that say was her son. However, when she informed anything in particular there were some names which she seemed not have it. Her account is given in the *Recollections of Bishop Stokes* edited by Robert Jamieson, and it does not seem any different to show that she was very badly treated. It is not necessary, as some writers of Wade have done, to argue that this cannot be the same man as the progressive and gentlemanly man of fashion because indeed his address even in this case is in accordance with the former character. Such falsehoods concerning this old woman as many people will probably find the author of *Recollections* would not be in the spirit of Miss Greene herself. Major Wade was certainly not the author of the *Recollections*. The consciousness of his authorship is at all a mark of a bad man who is not able to realize his own degradation. The old woman shows that the compilation had been composed with some degree of care, of course taking the report of a few close friends and others further than Major Wade himself has done with a great grace to be written in his narrative as at the present time.

The story of Major Wade was published during the same period between 1850 and 1855, in *Religious Tracts Society's Annual*, London. There is no date given but it seems to be after 1850.

The author of *Recollections* does not give a date but certain parts of it appear to be older. Wade writes a general description of the author of the *Recollections* as a "Major" without a word to indicate his rank or his name. Comparing with the report of the day, it is



singular that Wolfe should have written so many letters to intimate friends and relatives with so little of reference to himself, or rather to his own actions. As will appear by further references to his correspondence, his mind was of a distinctly subjective type. He discussed his peculiarities of temper and disposition, his likes and dislikes, he gave his views upon such widely divergent topics as military ethics and matrimony, he philosophized upon life and the hereafter, he drew up admirable rules of conduct, he showed himself ambitious and impatient of disregard, but he always avoided the appearance of boasting.

An anecdote which is familiar to many readers falls chronologically into this place and may be given for what it is worth. It is said that the Duke of Cumberland was riding with his staff over the field of battle after the day was lost and won, when he saw a wounded Highlander upon the ground gazing at him with a look of defiance and hate. Turning to Major Wolfe he ordered him to shoot the "Highlander scoundrel" who dared to look upon the Duke with such contempt and insolence. "My commission," replied Wolfe, "is at your Royal Highness's disposal, but I can never consent to become an executioner." This story is told with variations by different writers, but it lacks authentication, and as a consequence is generally accepted with reserve, if at all. If Wolfe at nineteen years of age is to be credited with so spirited and ready a reply, the Duke of Cumberland is to be held in execration for his atrocity. Certain it is that the sufferings of the rebel peasants were intense, and that the belief that Prince Charles had ordered before Culloden that no quarter should

be given increased, though it did not justify, the barbarities to which the vanquished were subject on the field of battle or the severity with which they were treated afterwards.

What part Wolfe took in the harrying of the rebels, in the destruction and confiscation of their property, or how he viewed it all, we do not learn from his pen at this time. In March 1755, he writes to his friend Rickson : " Such a succession of errors, and such a train of ill-behaviour as the last Scotch war did produce, can hardly, I believe, be matched in history."

That it was distasteful to him we may safely assume, but we may quite as safely say that he regarded it as the natural and necessary course to take with a rebellious people that was looked upon by the soldiery as beyond the pale of civilization.

We know that after the siege and reduction of Louisburg in 1758, he wrote to his father saying ironically " Sir Charles Hardy and I are preparing to rob the fishermen of their nets and to burn their huts. When that great exploit is at an end—I return to Louisburg." In his report to Amherst a little later he refers to the great exploit in these terms : " We have done a great deal of mischief—spread the terror of his Majesty's arms through the whole gulf ; but have added nothing to the reputation of them." Still later, at Quebec, when the responsibility was all his own, the country was laid desolate, crops were destroyed, houses and barns were burned. However opinions may differ as to the justification of such methods, he undoubtedly believed in them, as did his contemporaries who were not hurt



thereby, as necessary accompaniments of warfare. These statements are not written specially to condemn Wolfe, but rather to show that it is not safe to assume from a man's general reputation for justice and mercy that any particular act of his must be above reproach or beyond question. The Gordon affair already mentioned is an illustration.

The Duke of Cumberland departed from Scotland in July leaving desolation behind him and finding a grateful welcome awaiting him in England. The forces were dispersed, with the exception of a few regiments that were retained to garrison the outposts.

Wolfe himself left the land of heather before winter set in and remained in London till the following spring when his regiment was to proceed to the continent for service.

CHAPTER III.

AT HOME AND ON THE CONTINENT.

GENERAL Wolfe and Mrs. Wolfe who were living at their London home in Old Burlington Street welcomed their son, and entertained him for a short visit during which he fitted himself out for another campaign on the Continent.

Wolfe's letters to his parents showed for many years that his finances were in an unsatisfactory state. Even to the last, his pay was altogether insufficient for the proper maintenance of his position as an officer. His father, the General, could not help him materially for at this time the Government and the people who could vote a pension of £25,000 a year to the Duke of Cumberland after Culloden could complacently owe General Wolfe, Inspector of Marines, upwards of £16,000 for services rendered. When he applied to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty he was referred to the First Lord of the Treasury, by him to the Secretary of War, and by him back again to the First Lord of the Treasury. By this means the ministers gained time and General Wolfe got nothing but the honour of being in His Majesty's service. It is rather amusing that he should have expressed the fear that his much

asking for his own should cause him to be looked upon as a dun.

Although this appears to be Wolfe's first real visit to his parents after his entrance upon the profession of arms, his stay was not long. Early in the month of January he sailed for the Netherlands, acting as Brigade Major.

The French army had profited by the weakening of the Confederates when the English troops were withdrawn to quell the Scotch rebellion and had overrun the Austrian Netherlands. It now numbered one hundred and fifty thousand men, well fed, clothed and lodged, commanded by Marechale Saxe. The Confederate armies united with one hundred and twenty thousand men and lay idle and destitute some six weeks awaiting the tardy arrangements of the Commissariat department under Austrian and Dutch management. On the 2nd of July the opposing armies met at Laffeldt, where after a bloody and protracted battle victory rewarded the French army, at a cost of ten thousand in killed and wounded. To the British troops belonged the honour of having borne the brunt of the battle on the Confederate side without proper support, while the enemy sustained the best traditions of the French arms. Major Wolfe was wounded in the action and, it is stated, was publicly thanked by the commander-in-chief for his brilliant and valorous conduct upon the field.

Wolfe's letters give no account of this battle, nor do they furnish particulars as to his own part in it. How long he was invalidated we do not know, but at any rate he spent three or four months of the following winter in London, during which time he first met Miss Lawson. His romantic

attachment to her formed more than an episode in his life, but as it is convenient to follow his fortunes chronologically further mention of Miss Lawson will fall naturally under his next visit to London.

The second treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, followed in 1748. The possessions of the various contending parties remained practically as before, and the treaty itself was a virtual acknowledgment that blood and treasure had been spilled and spent for nothing. However it was pretty well understood that the treaty made not peace but a truce. Marechale Saxe soon renewed hostilities by laying siege to Maestricht. In March Wolfe again left to take his part in the struggle.

On the 12th of April he wrote a letter to his father in which he outlined the actual situation and made some interesting personal references. Colonel Yorke, the then Adjutant General, had "said some civil things in relation "to having a person with these people that was acquainted "with this country, and the customs of the army; and "proceeded to tell me that the Duke, in discourse with him, "had expressed great concern at not having it in his power "to serve me, but that his intention was just, and he would "take an opportunity soon of making it appear. And "Yorke, as a secret told me H. R. H. intended that Field "should succeed Cossley, and that he would give me the "Major's commission of Bragg's regiment for nothing, and "as he was pleased to say) in order to my being Lieu- "tenant-Colonel to it, for Jocelyn is dying."

His promotion did not follow as soon as he expected, but being only twenty-one years of age, he could afford to wait.

That he should have been singled out by the Duke of

Cumberland as a man of experience and judgment was at any rate gratifying to his ambitious and sensitive spirit. Perhaps he was too hopeful. In a letter written about this time he says, referring to another matter : " I'm sorry to " say that my writings are greatly influenced by the state " of my body or mind at the time of writing ; and I'm " either happy or ruined by my last night's rest, or from " sunshine, or light, or sickly air : such infirmity is the " mortal frame subject to."

It has been suggested that he was so useful in his actual position where he performed more duties than strictly appertained to the office of brigade major that he could not be spared even for promotion.

The army lay idle from the close of hostilities in May till December when the British troops departed for England's shores. Wolfe's restless, active disposition shows itself in a long moan of complaint which breathes through a letter written to his mother. He was trying, and trying in vain, to obtain a leave of absence in order to perfect himself in the science of war. His purely literary education had been abruptly terminated, and before his twenty-second year he had passed through seven campaigns and was expecting a Lieutenant-Colonelcy.

" 'Tis unaccountable," he says, " that he who wishes to " see a good army can oppose men's enlarging their notions. " or acquiring that acknowledge with a little absence which " they can't possibly meet with at home, especially when " they are supposed masters of their present employment " and really acquainted with it."

And again in a later epistle to his mother, written on the

10th day of November, 1748, he says : " For my particular, " I wish nothing so much as the means of escaping from " noise and idleness. I never till now knew our army " otherwise than as I could have desired it (I don't mean " as to the successful part) : but then I never knew what " it was to wait, in smoke and subjection, the signing art- " icles of peace, and till now have always had, or imagined " I had, a prospect of better times." However much Wolfe might chafe under enforced idleness, he had to stay until the return of his brigade. He remained but a few weeks in London, being gazetted on the 5th of January as Major of the 20th regiment then stationed in Scotland doing garrison duty.



C H A P T E R IV.

SCOTLAND AGAIN.

ALTHOUGH the political hopes of the Scottish Jacobites were destroyed at Culloden the sturdy, lawless, highland chief was still surrounded by his loyal retainers, who chafed under the restrictions that were placed upon them by the presence of English garrisons. Cattle lifting and blackmail were carried on extensively despite the vigilance and severity of the southern troops. After Culloden severe measures were passed through Parliament for the suppression of rebellion and for the discouragement of the rebels. The hereditary jurisdictions which had been associated with ownership of land and with titles of rank were abolished, and the forfeited estates of the leading rebels were placed under the control of a board of management for the benefit of the Crown ; the clans were to be disarmed ; the plaid, philabeg or little kilt were not to be worn ; the Scottish Episcopalian clergy, whose loyalty to the Crown was more than suspected, were compelled to acknowledge the Hanoverian succession and to pray for the King. Fitting penalties were prescribed for the various offences. During the war on the continent the garrisons

in Scotland were weakened to furnish troops where they were more needed. Later, however, several regiments were sent to Scotland to enforce the laws and to assist in the pacification of the malcontents by a show of force. Lord George Sackville, whose military reputation was later blasted by the famous slow march of his cavalry at Minden, for which he was dismissed from the service, was in command of the 20th Foot at Stirling. Wolfe was appointed Major of this regiment and directly after joining it he assumed command, without elevation of rank, because of the appointment of Lieut.-Col. Cornwallis to the office of Captain General and Governor of Acadia. The Colonels of regiments, be it observed, were not much more than inspecting officers and titular commanders at this time, the real commander being his Lieutenant Colonel. The rigid discipline of military life has never been, and can never be, conducive to that tactful, conciliatory, and patient mental attitude that is an essential requisite to one who has to deal with "the people" as distinguished from the soldiery. In fact the peremptory and overbearing manner seen so often in regular officers, though so much resented by the civilian, seems to be acquired quite unconsciously. At any rate its existence has caused many an able officer to fail ingloriously in his attempt to administer civil matters. The work of the regiments in Scotland, and especially of the officers commanding, was of a civil rather than of a military nature. Wolfe, though still a youth, acquitted himself in such a manner in his arduous position as to show that he was possessed of unusual talents as an administrator, and of unusual ability to deal tactfully with men. His temper

was hasty, rather than uneven, as appears from his own letters, but his nature was strenuous as well as strong. His intense earnestness and candour and his broad humanity made a favourable impression on all who came into contact with him.

His regimental minutes and orders are still preserved, the 20th Regiment now being known as the Lancashire Fusiliers. A few extracts are given here to show the characteristics of the man and to illustrate the principles of conduct which he and others before and since have inculcated into the British soldiery until the fortitude and tenacity of Tommy Atkins have become traditions which are honoured by observance to the present hour :

“Whoever shall throw away his arms in an action, whether officer, non-commissioned officer, or soldier, (unless it appears they are so damaged as to be useless,) either under the pretence of taking up others that are of a better sort or for any other cause whatsoever, must expect to be tried by a general court-martial for the crime.

“The death of an officer commanding a company or platoon shall be no excuse for the confusion or misbehaviour of that platoon ; for, while there is an officer or non-commissioned officer left alive to command, no man is to abandon his colours or betray his country.

“Neither officer, non-commissioned officer, nor soldier is to leave his platoon or abandon the colours for a slight wound. While a man is able to do his duty, and stand and hold his arms, it is infamous to retire.

“The battalion is not to halloo, or cry out, upon any account whatsoever, although the rest of the troops should

do it, until they are ordered to charge with their bayonets ; in that case, and when they are on the point of rushing upon the enemy, the battalion may give a warlike shout and run in.

"The soldier who takes his musket off his shoulder and pretends to begin the battle without order will be put to death that instant. The cowardice or irregular proceedings of one man is not to put the whole in danger.

"The soldier that quits his rank or offers to fly is instantly to be put to death by the officer that commands that platoon... A soldier does not deserve to live who wont fight for his King and country.

"If a non-commissioned officer or private man is missing after an action and joins his company afterwards unhurt, he will be reputed a coward and a fugitive, and will be tried for his life.

"If we attack a body less in extent than the battalion, the platoons upon the wings must be careful to direct their fire obliquely so as to strike upon the enemy. The officers to inform the soldiers of his platoon before the action begins where they are to direct their fire ; and they are to take a good aim to destroy their adversaries.

"There is no necessity for firing very fast. A cool, well-levelled fire, with the pieces carefully loaded, is much more destructive and formidable than the quickest fire in confusion. The misbehaviour of any other corps will not affect this battalion, because the officers are determined to give the strongest proofs of their fidelity, zeal and courage, in which the soldiers will second them with their usual spirit.

"When any officer omits to visit his guard frequently, to send out his patrols constantly, and to receive their reports, and when such officers go to bed at eleven at night, robberies and other lawless scandalous actions may be committed with impunity.

"The young officers are to be informed that vigilance and an exact attention to their duty upon guard is expected from them in the strictest manner.

"The men should consider that they are upon the point of entering into a war for the defence of their country against an enemy who has long meditated the destruction of it: that a drunken, vicious, irregular army is but a poor defence to a state; but that virtue, courage, and obedience in the troops are a sure guard against all assaults: that the troops that are posted in this country are designed to repel the enemy's first attempt; and that they should be in readiness to execute their part with honour and spirit, and not give themselves up to every excess, and to every irregularity in times like these: both officers and soldiers should exert themselves in every part of duty, and shew their countrymen that they deserve their esteem and consideration; and they should endeavour in a particular manner to recommend themselves to his majesty, and to the captain-general, by their zeal, fidelity, and valour." (1)

(1) These extracts are selected from "General Wolfe's Instructions to Young Officers; Also His Orders for a Battalion and an Army:" etc. Second Edition, London, 1780. Printed for J. Millan.

It may be remarked that the title of this book is misleading. Only two pages are devoted to Instructions to Young Officers, and whether Wolfe wrote them or not, they are hardly worth preserving. The young officer may, however, even now profit by a perusal of the Orders, which fill about a hundred pages.



Wolfe's regiment was ordered to Glasgow from which he writes for the first time on the 25th of March 1749 to his mother. He says that "two hours a day are given up to application : in the morning I have a man to instruct me in the mathematics, and in the afternoon another comes to assist me in regaining my almost lost Latin. The college furnishes almost all parts of learning to the inquisitive."

He is half undone with expenses, and after deducting the actual cost for horses, servants, washing, lodging and "diet" from his pay, £15 a month, he reckons that he has one shilling and a penny a day for pocket money. He writes soon after to his friend Capt. W. Rickson, and as all the world loves a lover it may be well to introduce Wolfe in that rôle when his story can be told in his own words. From the fulness of his heart and as a fitting return for a confidence he had just received from his friend he pens these words :

" You shall hear, in justice, and in return for your confidence, that I am not less smitten than yourself. The winter we were in London together I sometimes saw Miss Lawson, the maid of honour, G. Mordaunt's niece. She pleased me then ; but the campaign in view... left little thought for love. The last time I was in town, only three weeks, I was several times with her, sometimes in public, sometimes at her uncle's, and two or three times at her own house. She made a surprising progress in that time, and won all my affections. Some people reckon her handsome ; but I, that am her lover, do not think her a beauty. She has much sweetness of temper, sense

"enough, and is very civil and engaging in her behaviour. She refused a clergyman with £1,300 a year, and "is at present addressed to by a very rich knight, but to "your antagonist's misfortune, he has that of being mad "added, so that I hold him cheap. In point of fortune she "has no more than I have a right to expect, viz. £12,000. "The maid is tall and thin, about my own age, and that's "the only objection. I endeavoured, with the assistance "of all the art I was master of, to find out how any serious "proposal would be received by Mordaunt and her mother. "It did not appear that they would appear very averse to "such a scheme; but as I am but twenty-two and three "months it is rather early for that sort of project; and if "I dont attempt her, somebody else will. The General "and Mrs. Wolfe are rather against it, from other more "interested views, as they imagine. They have their eye "upon one of £30,000. If a company in the Guards is "bought for me, or I should be happy enough to purchase "my lieutenant-colonel's commission within this twelve "month, I shall certainly ask the question; but if I am "kept long here, the fire will be extinguished. Young "flames must be constantly fed, or they'll evaporate. I "have done with this subject, and do you be silent upon it."

His estimate of the citizens of Glasgow was not a flattering one, and let us hope that it was as unjust as it would be if applied now.

"The men are civil, designing, and treacherous, with "their immediate interest always in view; they pursue "trade with warmth and a necessary mercantile spirit, "arising from the baseness of their other qualifications.

"The women, coarse, cold, and cunning, forever enquiring "after men's circumstances ; they make that the standard "of their good breeding." However, he preferred Glasgow to any other quarters in Scotland and left with reluctance for Perth in October. While the plan of this work does not permit of any extended reference to the matters of only general interest which happened during the rest of his sojourn in Glasgow, his life was not without incident.

He complains bitterly, or humourously, of the time he lost attending Kirk for two hours each Sabbath for an example to his brother officers and men, and from a sense of duty. He thought the generality of Scotch preachers were "excessive blockheads, so truly and obstinately dull, "that they seemed to shut out knowledge at every entrance."

Although these quotations show that Wolfe did not understand the Scottish character or type of mind, extracts from other letters indicate that his feelings and expressions were determined pretty largely by a restlessness and a general dissatisfaction that made him ready to find fault with everything about him. To Rickson he had said that the barren battalion talk rather blunted the faculties than improved them : that his youth and vigour were being idly bestowed in Scotland, and that his temper was daily changed with discontent. He feared that subject to such conditions he would turn from a man to a martin or a monster. Besides his health had been seriously affected by the unusually cold, damp summer and after an illness he described himself as everything but what the surgeons call a subject for anatomy ; "as far as muscles, bones, and the larger vessels "can serve their purpose, they have a clear view of them

"in me, distinct from fat or fleshy impediment." After his illness he nearly suffered a relapse "for want of sun." On the 13th of August there was not a field of any sort of corn cut down, which fact made him exclaim: "If the hand of the Lord is not upon them, they are in a terrible latitude." It appears that humour could shine through his "vapors", when they were not too dense. In a letter to his mother, on the 8th of September, he says: "I don't know how the "mathematics may assist the judgment, but they have a "great tending to make men dull. I, who am far from "being sprightly even in my gaiety, am the very reverse "of it at this time. I'm heavier in discourse, longer at a "letter, less quick of apprehension, and carry all the "appearances of stupidity to so great a height, that in a "little time they won't be known from the reality; and all "this to find out the use and property of a crooked line, "which, when discovered, serves me no more than a "straight one, does not make me a jot more useful or enter- "taining, but, on the contrary, adds to the weight that "nature has laid upon the brain, and blunts the organs."

As it was settled that Cornwallis was not to return to his regiment, Wolfe's hopes began to rise with his constant desire to receive his lieutenant-colonelcy. With his father he had more correspondence on the subject, but the commission did not come. His circumstances were somewhat better than when he conveyed the hint for assistance by reference to his one shilling and one penny a day for pocket money, for his father had sent him relief. To his mother's pressing invitation to go home for four months, he replies that he can expect no such indulgence, and that

he will pass the winter at Perth, hunting and shooting for exercise, and reading for entertainment. After Christmas he will gain some relaxation by going to Edinburgh for two or three weeks. Still he felt that it was his misfortune to miss the improving hour, and to degenerate instead of brightening.

He makes some comparisons between himself and his fellows that are interesting. It is always hard for one to make such personal references without the appearance of vain boasting on the one hand or of simulated humility on the other.

However we judge his remarks, his communication to his mother must be considered somewhat privileged. Let him speak for himself. " Few of my companions surpass " me in common knowledge, but most of them in vice. " This is a truth that I should blush to relate to one who " had not all my confidence, lest it be thought to proceed " either from insolence or vanity; but I think you don't " understand it so. I dread their habits and behaviour, " and am forced to eternal watch upon myself, that I may " avoid the very manner which I most condemn in them. " Young men should have some object constantly in their " aim, some shining character to direct them. 'Tis a " disadvantage to be first at an imperfect age; either we " become enamoured with ourselves, seeing nothing super- " ior, or fall into the degree of our associates."

In the month of November, Major Wolfe marched his regiment from Glasgow to Perth, not the Fair Perth of to-day but still a town of some distinction even at that time. His first letter to his mother was written on the 15th

of December and in it he gives a glimpse of the coarseness of both the men and women of Perth as it appeared to his refined nature.

From his next letter, a month later, we learn that when in Glasgow he prosecuted his studies with such assiduity as left him little time for attention to his colonel; the change was now so great that he had ample leisure for recreation and amusement. In consequence he says: "I have improved and strengthened my constitution beyond what I have hitherto known."

In this letter he mentioned Miss Hoskins, who had sent her compliments to him. It was she whom his business-like mother had chosen for him, chiefly it would appear because she had a fortune of £30,000, but as Rickson had told Wolfe that she was a "complete woman" and had advised him, as a friend, "to make up to her," we may suppose that she was not lacking in personal charms. The advice of Rickson, as usual in such cases, was valued by Wolfe at what it cost him, and only served to make him challenge a comparison with Miss Lawson. As Rickson confessed that he did not know the latter, the odious comparison was evidently not made.

It would appear that the General and Mrs. Wolfe had positively forbidden their son to pay further addresses to Miss Lawson, which disappointment had so affected his disposition that in philosophical despair he declared that he could possibly prevail upon himself not to refuse twenty or thirty thousand pounds, if properly offered. His mother, perhaps to assuage his grief, or to discuss the matter with judicial fairness, had conceded an admiration for Miss

Lawson's behaviour and manner, but this inflamed Wolfe anew, and he told her so. We have not the letters of the General and of Mrs. Wolfe, but from Wolfe's letters it is evident that they grew peremptory when reason failed to convince him that his infatuation was foolish. At any rate he expresses his willingness to submit to paternal authority, and hopes that his mother will again answer his letters.

On the 19th of March, Wolfe's ambition had a temporary satisfaction for he then learned that he had been promoted nine days before to the lieutenant-colonelcy of his regiment. He was sensible of the greatness of that favour which had received it "with tolerable humility."

We are accustomed to the statement that during a time when inferior men were placed and maintained as army officers solely through family and court influence, Wolfe won his way by sheer ability without the aid of friends or connections. As a matter of fact, this is only partly true. In a letter to his father, Wolfe acknowledges that the "Duke has employed his power and influence upon this occasion where, at least, it is sure to be remembered." He thought himself much obliged to Lord George Sackville and wrote him strong assurances of that fact. What Lord Sackville had said to His Royal Highness "left, no doubt, a favorable impression and forwarded this succession." Nor let it be forgotten to acknowledge the services of Colonel Nipper, with whom he had been intimately associated during the three years that had just passed. Although it was distinctly necessary for General Wolfe to use every legitimate means to secure his son's promotion, it is to be

observed that he sought and obtained the assistance of those only who knew the son and his fitness for the position he desired. Influence had to be exercised even for the recognition of merit, so senseless were the conditions of service in the army. After seven campaigns, Wolfe again wished for a year and half or two years' leave of absence to improve himself while he was capable of improvement, and young enough to apply himself to it. He preferred to go to Turin. His Colonel, Lord Bury, would not hear of it, however, but Wolfe declared: "I am still determined to employ some years of my life in the real business of an officer, and not sacrifice all my time to idleness, or our trifling soldiership. Some of the nations of Europe will soon give me an opportunity to put this resolution into practice." This he says in April.

On the 15th of July he writes his father in a similar strain: "I have some thoughts of going this winter into Lorraine, to Metz, or Thionville, if you approve the notion. If I am absent from the regiment, I suppose it is the same thing to the Duke where I am, but to myself of vast importance. I want to be perfect in the French language. There is a fine academy of artillery and the business of an engineer at Metz. I shall be glad of your opinion, by which I shall always be regulated. A winter idly spent in London (and 'tis difficult not to spend it idly) would, at this time, be of sensible prejudice; perhaps infuse such notions and inclinations as are not to be got the better of." His dread of idleness shows his active, restive disposition and his avoidance of temptations indicates rather more than good common sense. Some writers have remarked

Wolfe's many expressions of the hope that he might employ some years of life in real business, as well as his feverish anxiety to do something while he still had the strength and the inclination, and have wondered whether he had some strange presentiment of a short life and a glorious death.

We may reject the supernatural entirely in this case and venture the belief that his health was so uncertain and his constitutional weakness so apparent to him that the conviction of a short life had been forced upon him often in his moments of reflection. His ambition led him to hope to do something of good for his country, and perhaps to leave an enduring name behind him. To do this he knew that he must work long and earnestly. The dignity of labor was never more graphically set forth by Carlyle's pen than by Wolfe's actions. His next letter to his father written on the first of September shows his persistence, as well as his ideas concerning the professional equipment of an officer. He says : " If the request (for leave of absence) be properly examined, there can be no objection to it ; for I ask no more than an opportunity to be better acquainted with the duty of an officer, and to have it in my duty to speak the French language correctly, a language that is now in such general use. For idleness or amusement I need not go out of London, or at least not further than Paris ; but as the business I am going upon will require all my labour and attention, I chuse to be at a distance from any temptation. If the Duke consents, it will be with regret ; for the perfection of military knowledge, in his Royal Highness's eye, is the command of a regiment



to men of our rank, and his notion of care and diligence centres entirely in sticking eternally to the same point, viz, the Battalion; though I could undertake to make it appear that nothing is more necessary towards doing one's part well than a little respite at convenient seasons. Lord Bury, too, will be brought to hearken to such a proposal. I intend to try him in a post or two, and ask ten months' leave at once... I shall be cruelly disappointed if this fails, for my time of application will soon be over, and the sooner by the discouragement and mortification that follow the disappointment." He was doomed to disappointment which he more than half expected. The Duke was asked no less than three times by "powerful people" to grant the necessary permission, which he did thrice refuse. He accompanied his refusal with the declaration that a lieutenant colonel was an officer of too high a rank to be allowed to leave his regiment for any considerable time. Wolfe confided to his friend Rickson then in Nova Scotia with Cornwallis that "this is a dreadful mistake, and if obstinately pursued, will disgust a number of good intentions, and preserve that prevailing ignorance of military affairs that has been so fatal to us in all our undertakings, and will be forever so, unless other measures are pursued. We fall every day lower and lower from our real characters, and are so totally engaged in everything that is " minute and trifling that one would almost imagine the idea of war was extinguished amongst us: they will hardly allow us to recollect the service we have already seen; that is to say the merit of things seem to return into their old channel, and he is the brightest in his profession that

is the most impertinent, talks loudest, and knows least."

On the first of October his regiment was transferred to Dundee for clothing and winter quarters and in consequence he was very busy for a time. The long expected leave of absence was at last granted to him but he must not go abroad. He submitted with indifferent grace and on the 4th of November set out for London where he remained till the middle of April. His fears of the effect of idleness with large opportunities for evil courses were fully realized during these few months, after which he turned again to the north a sadder, wiser, older man. To Rickson, while still burning with remorse, he made allusion to his experiences in words of more severity than one would now feel like using concerning his escapades. "In that short time I committed more imprudent acts than in all my life before. I lived in the idlest, dissolute, abandoned manner that could be conceived, and that not out of vice, which is the most extraordinary part of it. I have escaped at length, and am once again master of my reason, and hereafter it will rule my conduct, at least I hope so."

It is just as well that he did not descend to particulars. We may use with aptness his own remark upon another occasion: "It would be a kind of miracle for one of my age and complexion to go through life without stumbling." Perhaps his misstep at this time was caused by the certainty that his suit for the hand of Miss Lawson had definitely to be numbered with his failures in life. His mother's desire had been for him to marry the rich heiress of Croydon but the marriage of Miss Hoskins to John Wolfe, Esq., of Squerryes Court, while Wolfe was in

London, put an end to his hopes in this direction. After his London season Wolfe rejoined his regiment at Banff, a place which he particularly dislikes, and which was probably as dismal a spot as he could have found. His only distraction here was furnished by book and pen and by the necessary care to restore his shattered health. He sought relief by visiting mineral springs near but with no beneficial results.

In October, Wolfe was in Inverness, that picturesque little town amongst the hills nearly 200 miles north west of Edinburgh which had been garrisoned by English troops as early as 1296 and had figured in Scottish history down to the battle of Culloden. Wolfe who probably was not upon the field during that decisive struggle took an early opportunity to survey it and to send a criticism to his father upon the conduct of the English officers. His criticism is not detailed but it is so hostile as to cause him to say that his censure does not proceed from ill nature, but that it is given rather to exercise the faculty of judging and is not for the world. His letters show him to be in good spirits although not in love with the country or its inhabitants. He comforts himself with the reflection that the ills he has to put up with are small considering what one must meet who makes war his trade. To his mother he wrote long letters of not much general importance, but sometimes they give characteristic touches. If the plan of this work permitted, it would be worth while to reproduce these letters *in extenso* as well as others which remain unnoticed. We cannot refrain even at the risk of encroaching upon the space allotted to the latter years of Wolfe's

life, from quoting him here, and in quoting him especially when he speaks of himself. "For my part, while I am young and in health all the world is my garden and my dwelling; and when I begin to decline, I hope my services by that time may fairly ask some little retreat, and a provision so moderate that I may possess it unenvied. I demand no more; but while I have vigour, if the country wants a man of good intentions, they'll find me ready, —devoted, I may say,—to their service.

"Though not of the most melting compassion, I am sometimes touched with other people's distresses and participate in their grief. Men whose tenderness is not often called upon, obtain by degrees—as you may particularly observe in old bachelors—a ferocity of nature, or insensibility about the misfortunes that befalls others. There's no more tender hearted person than a father or mother that has, or has had many children... "I have a certain turn of mind that favours matrimony prodigiously, though every way else extremely averse to it at present, and you shall know it. I love children, and think them necessary to us in our latter days; they are fit objects for the mind to rest upon, and give it great entertainment when amusements of other kinds have lost their value. Sure, next to being an honest man and good citizen, it is meritorious to produce such characters amongst men. Our endeavours here seldom fail of success; for young people are as capable of receiving good impressions and good sentiments as bad ones, and if their natures incline to evil, custom and education correct them."...

"Lord Bury professes fairly, and means nothing; in

that he resembles his father, and a million of other showy men that are seen in palaces and in the courts of kings. He desires never to see his regiment, and wishes that no officer would ever leave it."

On the 2nd of January 1752 (N. S.) he wrote a letter that must appeal to all men who have passed the meridian of life, and who occasionally wonder what they are and whence they came. "The winter wears away, so do our years, and so does life itself; and it matters little where a man passes his day and what station he fills, or whether he be great or considerable; but it imports him something to look to his manner of life. This day am I five and twenty years of age, and all that time is as nothing. When I am fifty (if so it happens) and look back, it will be the same; and so on to the last hour. But it is worth a moment's consideration that one may be called away on a sudden, unguarded and unprepared; and the oftener these thoughts are entertained, the less will be the dread and fear of death. You will judge by this sort of discourse that it is the dead of night, when all is quiet and at rest, and one of those intervals wherein men think of what they really are, and what they really should be; how much is expected and how little performed. Our short duration here, and the doubts of hereafter, should awe and deter the most flagitious, if they reflected on them. The little time taken in for meditation is the best employed in all their lives; for if the uncertainty of our state and being is then brought before us, and that compared with our course of conduct, who is there who won't immediately discover the inconsistency of all his behaviour and the vanity of all his

pursuits? And yet, we are so mixed and compounded that though I think seriously this minute, and lie down with good intentions, it is likely that I may rise with my old nature, or perhaps with the addition of some new impertinence, and be the same wandering lump of idle errors that I have ever been. You certainly advise me well. You have pointed out the only one way where there can be no disappointment, and comfort that will never fail us—carrying men steadily and cheerfully in their journey, and a place of rest at the end. Nobody can be more persuaded of it than I am; but situation, example, the current of things, and our natural weakness draw me away from the rest of the herd, and only leave me just strength to resist the worst degree of our iniquities. There are times when men fret at trifles, and quarrel with their toothpicks. In one of these ill habits I exclaim against the present condition, and think it is the worst of all; but coolly and temperately it is plainly the best. Where there is most employment and least vice, there one should wish to be. There is a meanness and a baseness not to endure with patience the little inconveniences we are subject to; and to know no happiness but in one spot, and that in ease, in luxury, in idleness, seems to deserve our contempt. There are young men amongst us that have great revenues and high military stations, that repine at three months' service with their regiments if they go fifty miles from home. Soup and venison and turtle are their supreme delight and joy,—an effeminate race of coxcombs the future leaders of our armies, defenders and protectors of our great and free nation. You bid me avoid Fort William, because

you believe it still worse than this place. That will not be my reason for wishing to avoid it; but the change of conversation, the fear of becoming a mere ruffian, and of imbibing the tyrannical principles of an absolute commander, or giving way insensibly to the temptations of power, till I become proud, insolent, and intolerable;—these considerations will make me wish to leave the regiment before the next winter, and always (if it could be so) after eight months' duty; that by frequenting men above myself I may know my true condition, and by discoursing with the other sex may learn some civility and mildness of carriage, but never pay the price of the last improvement with the loss of reason. Better be a savage of some use than a gentle amorous puppy, obnoxious to all the world. One of the wildest of wild clans is a worthier being than a perfect Philander."

From a letter written ten days later in quite a different vein we learn that he had read the mathematics till he had grown perfectly stupid, and had algebraically worked away the little portion of understanding that had been allowed him. The disappointment of his one great desire to get away to Europe to study military science and to perfect himself in the accomplishments which he considered necessary to his position in life, had evidently not so discouraged him as to cause him to neglect the opportunities and the duties lying near him. He observed in the same letter that the officers at Inverness were allowed to be the most religious foot officers that had been seen in the north for many a day, and that some words were thrown away every Sunday in prayers for their amendment and exemplary

life and conversation. Later an application was made unsuccessfully to Lord George Sackville for the appointment of Wolfe as aide-de-camp, but the latter took the refusal rather philosophically. He thought, to speak truly, that he was by no means calculated for an office of that kind, and his judgment was undoubtedly sound.

We have given some space to Wolfe's little affairs of the heart and to his views upon matrimony especially as applied to his own case. But like others he was capable of looking at such matters from different points. We learn from him that he would hardly engage in an affair of that nature purely for money, or that unless some gentle nymph did violence to his inclinations he would much rather listen to the drum and trumpet than to any softer sounds whatever, but we are not surprised particularly in consideration of the fact that he had to give up the idea of marriage with Miss Lawson, to whom he was attached, and that Miss Hoskins who was acceptable to his mother was already married.

In April he wrote a letter to his father in which he shows that he still chafes under the restraints of his position as Lieutenant to a Colonel who is too arbitrary in his methods. If he were left to his own choice, he says, he would run away to the Austrian camp at Luxembourg, or to the French army in Lorraine. That Lord Bury was something much worse than arbitrary may be seen from the following discreditable tale. After his arrival in Inverness on the 13th of April the magistrates of the town waited upon him to arrange for a banquet on the Duke of Cumberland's birthday. He accepted the invitation but suggested that the entertainment be postponed to the anni-

versary of Culloden. The members of the deputation asked for a day for consideration and for consultation with other citizens. Returning they expressed regret that they could not see their way clear to alter the date. His Lordship was very sorry they had not given him a negative reply at the first interview because he had already mentioned the matter to his soldiers and he could not be responsible for their conduct should they resent their disappointment. Naturally, this thinly veiled threat brought about the celebration of Culloden almost upon the field of battle, with the defeated as unwilling participants. Such conduct on the part of Lord Bury was in marked contrast with that of his Lieutenant who appears to have done much by his moderation and by his conciliatory manner to accustom the inhabitants of Inverness to the inevitable, and to foster in them that respect for the laws and the administration of them, that is at the base of all patriotism.

Wolfe's further stay in Scotland was uneventful, and notwithstanding the personal interest attaching to his correspondence, may be passed over hastily. About the middle of May he went to Fort Augustus where there were only six or seven officers and eighty men, with very little for them to do.

In consequence he employed his time for a few weeks in visiting outposts and in shooting, after which he started for Ireland to visit his father's brother, Major Walter Wolfe, of Dublin. On the way he visited Perth, Ruthven and probably other posts in Scotland, and sailed from Glasgow for Portpatrick. He arrived in Dublin on the 12th of July in better health than he had enjoyed for fourteen months,

"leaner than can be described, and burnt to a chip." With a soldier's instinct he visited Drogheda and the battle field on the Boyne, no less famous for its decisive struggle than for its rare beauty. The north of Ireland and the vicinity of Dublin seemed to Wolfe little inferior in beauty and fertility to any parts of England that he had seen. As a matter of fact for beauty and diversity of scenery they are to-day inferior to no part of the world, unless it be to the Vale of Avoca and the rest of southern Ireland. He observed that the best estates were even then deeply involved in debt, the tenants racked and plundered, and consequently industry and good husbandry disappointed or destroyed. The far reaching effects of agrarian troubles were clearly recognized by this youthful soldier years before the time of Adam Smith.

The wisdom of Wolfe's judgment upon all topics that were suggested to his active and observing mind is somewhat remarkable, and seems to have been ignored entirely by those who represent him as a military genius and nothing more. A study of his character and of his accomplishments must force one to the conviction that he would have achieved reputation or even fame in almost any profession or occupation he could have chosen.

Dublin, much larger than Belfast, appeared to him a prodigious city. The streets were crowded with "people of a large size and well limbed, and the women very handsome. They have clearer skins and fairer complexions than the women in England or Scotland, and are exceedingly straight and well made."

After about a week spent in seeing the sights of dear,

dirty Dublin, Wolfe said farewell to his uncle and sailed for Bristol, proceeding thence to London. At last he succeeded in getting his long expected leave of absence from the commander-in-chief with permission to visit the continent. His Colonel, Lord Bury, interested himself actively in his behalf and after leave was obtained gave him a letter of introduction to the Earl of Albemarle, Lord Bury's father, who was at the time British ambassador in France. General Wolfe did what was more essential to the enterprise by supplying the necessary funds. With the means thus furnished and the letter of introduction, Wolfe left London on the 2nd of October for Paris.



CHAPTER V

PARIS—SCOTLAND—ENGLAND—ROCHEFORT

WOLFE made the passage from London to Paris in five days, and immediately after his arrival he began to learn riding, dancing and fencing. To acquire rapidly an accurate knowledge of the French language he resolved to discard, both in conversation and in writing, his mother tongue. As there were then many English people in Paris with whom he was acquainted he experienced some difficulty in carrying his resolution into effect. Lord Albemarle, the British ambassador, showed him many kindnesses and seemed to be particularly admired by Wolfe for his air, his address, his manners, and his graces.

The letters of Wolfe embrace a large variety of topics such as French manners, courts, religious disputes, women and gossip. Like a true Briton he rather scorned what he regarded as the polish and superficiality of French manners. He tells his mother that "there are men that only desire to shine, and that had rather say a smart thing than do a great one; there are others—rare birds—that had rather be than seem to be. Of the first kind this country is a well stored magazine; of the second, our own has some

few examples." He attended a court function at Versailles with the British ambassador and was the "cold spectator of what we commonly call splendour and magnificence." He saw the King, the Queen, the Dauphin, the Dauphiness, and most important of all la Marquise de Pompadour. He was afterwards presented to the King, and was received by La Pompadour whom he found extremely handsome. The old subject of matrimony crops up again in his letters to his father and mother but we learn that the affair with Miss Lawson, which was indeed entirely one sided, was put aside to rest forever.⁽¹⁾

Wolfe heard that the French King intended to encamp a great part of his army in the early summer in three or four divisions, and took immediate steps to gain permission to see them as a representative of the English army. He hoped also to see the Austrian and the Prussian troops in their encampments during the summer and thus to have a fulfilment of his long cherished desire. Notwithstanding the influence of Lord Albemarle the reply to his application came as an order to return to his regiment in Scotland. Hearing that his Major had been stricken with apoplexy he set out at the end of March to resume command of the regiment, feeling that in the circumstances further leave of absence could neither be expected nor granted.

Wolfe remained a few days at home with his parents and returned with some reluctance to Glasgow where he found his regiment in a wretched and disorganized condition.

(1) Although Wolfe did mention Miss Lawson once later, we may here take him at his word and dismiss the question by saying that she died in March 1759, unmarried.

The Major was dead and his widow and children were in tears ; the officers were ruined, desperate, and without hope of preferment ; an ensign was struck speechless with palsy, and another had become subject to frequent convulsions ; some of his people spat blood ; many were anxious to sell their commissions. He had suffered every inconvenience and discomfort conceivable on his journey by reason of the torturous post-chaises, and of the rude movements of the post-horses which he undertook to ride for a change. He expected to march out of dark and dismal Scotland early in August. By that time ambition and the desire to please would be utterly extinguished from amongst them. This tale of woe is gathered from his first letter to his father written on the 22nd of April. Three weeks later he said " We are called sick, officers and soldiers, I am amongst the best, and not quite well. In two days we lost the skin off our faces, and the third were shivering in great coats. Such are the bounties that Heaven has bestowed upon this people, and such the blessings of a northern latitude." His state of depression was partly induced, no doubt, by his disappointment in regard to his continental visit. Six months in Paris had probably done more for him than he imagined. Apart from his opportunities for learning the beauties of the French language, acquiring skill with the sword, and graceful movement in the dance, there had been time for relaxation, and for that improvement in mental attitude which comes insensibly from an enlarged view of life in its different phases. But this all made it harder for him to go back to the rude life of barracks and regimental routine in Scotland. By contrast the amuse-

ments in Glasgow were mean and tame. According to him there were plays, concerts, balls, public and private, besides dinners and suppers of the most execrable food upon earth, with wine that approached to poison. The men drank till they were excessively drunk, (as they sometimes do in Glasgow even to this day). The women were cold to everything but a bagpipe and the sound of an estate. He had told Lord Bury that his observation had pointed out to him that to do one's duty well was the roundabout way to perferment.

His letters during the summer show him to have been in a bad temper. His mother, from whom Wolfe seems to have inherited his disposition and many of his finer qualities, found it necessary to censure him for some unfilial outburst. What she said we do not know, but his reply was explanatory, apologetic and philosophical. The warmth of his temper he admits, as well as the justice of his mother's censure. But he depends upon this warmth of temper to support him against the little attacks of his brethren, and to find him a way to a glorious, or at least a firm and manly end when he is of no further use to his friends or country, or when he can be serviceable by offering his life for either.

Such tempers are very ticklish, and may undergo a considerable change by any alteration of air, diet or exercise, as he has often experienced. He protests that nobody has perhaps more reason to be satisfied with his station and success in the world, nobody can have better parents, and hitherto he has never lacked friends. "But happiness, or ease, which is all we can pretend to, lies in the mind

or nowhere. A man must think himself so, or imagine it, or it cannot be. It is not circumstances, advancement, fortune, or good relations and faithful friends that create it, 'tis the temper, or truly the force of overcoming one or more of the leading passions that otherwise must disturb us. These passions seem to be in our first composition or in nature, and the remedy, as you observe, is in reason. But this often fails, at least in our younger days."

He asks his mother to forgive those defects that are visibly in the blood and to set his good qualities in opposition to his bad ones, as that is what our feeble condition here seems in justice to require. Wolfe's admissions corroborate the historical judgment that he was of a quick, fiery disposition, and the wonder is that he was able to form and retain so many warm attachments with his fellow officers, and to command not only the respect but love of his soldiers. The answer appears in part in the attitude he assumed under his mother's rebuke. He was impetuous and irritable, but he was just. With his highly sensitive, justice loving, and emotional nature he was prepared to acknowledge a fault as readily as to commit one, and was too generous to cherish a resentment against any one who had given offence. Besides, as appears in many important events of his life, such as will be mentioned later, he never for a moment shirked the responsibility for his words or actions. As he expressed himself, "If a man does his duty to the best of his judgment and ability, the thoughts and reflections that arise from so doing, are, in my opinion, sufficient satisfaction."

However, to finish his last campaign in Scotland we

must proceed to notice that during this summer he was engaged a part of the time in building and repairing roads, an occupation which was largely carried on in North Britain by the English soldiers during their stay there, and which served to open up the highlands and other remote parts of the lands to the great advantage of the inhabitants. On the 7th of August, in a letter to his father he shows that he was not the slave to forms of drill and to the "red book" as other British officers were then and have been since. Lord Bury had changed the exercise of the soldiers from very quick to very slow, so that at that time of writing they were able to do neither in a creditable manner. Wolfe observes that the soldiers knew that this was not very material, but he thought that some who would be present at a coming review would think otherwise. He expresses no concern, however, on this score. In the same letter he complains that neither temperance nor exercise can preserve him in tolerable health in the moisture of the Scottish air, which overmatches all the precautions he can take to resist its bad effects.

By the middle of September he and his regiment had started on their return to England, having been relieved by a battalion from Minorca. Since 1749, fifteen new officers besides Wolfe had come into the regiment, so that the changes had been many. According to Wolfe they were not numerous enough, for on the 22nd of October he wrote to his father that some of them ought to be separated from it forever: "If we had any religion or piety, or were at all sensible of favours from above, we should be thankful for the finest season that ever was. And although we are not, I

Dew

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am sure, the objects of the peculiar care of Heaven, yet, as we have profited by the good things bestowed upon mankind in general, we should join with them in acknowledgments. If I stay much longer with the regiment, I shall be perfectly corrupt ; the officers are loose and profligate, and the soldiers are very devils." The unfortunate part of this characterization of the army, or of this part of it, is that it may be accepted without allowance for rhetorical exaggeration. From other sources we may learn the same unpalatable truth.

In the month of November Wolfe, with six companies of the regiment, went into quarters in Dover, occupying the ancient castle which is said to date from the time of Julius Cæsar.

Although Wolfe did not complain much of his quarters it seems that he refrained only because it was not becoming the character of a soldier to find fault with rude surroundings. At the end of March he wrote to his mother from Swinburne and expressed lively satisfaction at his escape from such a vile dungeon. His summer was spent in a visit to his parents at Blackheath and in having a little leisure to ramble about the country, until he arrived at Exeter in October for winter quarters. From a letter to his mother at about this time we get a glimpse of the artistic side of his nature. He said that he knew of nothing more entertaining than a collection of well-looking men, uniformly clad, performing their exercise with grace and order. If he did not profess the business of arms himself he would follow all the reviewing generals for the sake of seeing the troops. Fleets and fortifications, he adds, would

interest him as strongly as architecture, painting and the gender arts.

His life at Exeter was uneventful, and his letters were at least their usual character, but one written from Bristol in January gives a view of the man that makes it worth reproducing in part. "Folks are surprised to see the change, unassuming, drowsy figure of the son, when the father and mother preserve such good looks; and people are not easily persuaded that I am one of the family. The campaign is over & I am, and I suppose, one of my nation, and the winters in Scotland and at Dover have brought me almost to old age and infirmity, and this without any remarkable infirmities. A few years more at this rate are of little consequence to the common run of men, and therefore I need not lament that I am perhaps something nearer my end than others of my time. I think and write upon these points without being at all novel. It is not the opinions, but I desire I have to be familiar with those ideas which brighten and satisfy the half of mankind that claims the spell upon the subject of my immortal. There are two ways how he writes — 'Don't trouble yourself about my name or my pedigree. my name will not remain in this time would shorten me, and complete the destruction of a longing consciousness. Such as it is, it must serve me now, and I'll make the best of it, and the time we while it holds.'

The state of health and his feelings seem to have been a constant source of pain to him at this time, while his hopes were still of the brightest even when limited to the short time. He was in daily expectation of finding a cure, or

to form part of an expedition to Virginia. Such an enterprise would necessitate the purchase of "a quantity of coarse shirts," and how to procure them he did not know. He was a Lieutenant Colonel of Foot, twenty eight years of age, and not master of fifty pounds. He was so distressed as to feel "a little uneasy" while he was surrounded with miserable devils in the same circumstances, to whom a battle would be a happy event. This picture of his affairs shows how little there was in the profession of arms to encourage competent, ambitious men to take or to retain commissions. Sir John Mordaunt had interested himself to secure Wolfe's promotion and had hit upon the happy plan of having General Wolfe resign the colonelcy of his regiment in favour of his son who would in turn settle an annuity upon the retired soldier. The father appears to have concurred in this scheme, but the younger officer saw an obvious danger in accepting it. What with ill health, a broken constitution, and the chances of war, his expectations of life were short, and there was great danger that predeceasing his father he would leave him with neither the colonel's pay nor the annuity. The matter was thus dropped, and the generous old father replenished the son's empty purse from his own, which was none too full.

As one of the objects of quoting so often and so fully from Wolfe's letters is to display to the reader, rather than to tell him, the character of the man, we must now in fairness show him in his sterner aspect, aggressive, relentless, sanguinary. Although gentle in peace and fierce in war he is consistent in his attitudes, so widely separated in appearance. The intense earnestness of the man

explains the existence of such opposite types, without the assumption of a dual consciousness.

After expressing the warmest friendship for and attachment to Rickson, now returned from Nova Scotia and stationed at Fort Augustus, he speaks of the campaign of 1745. "What would have been the effect of a sudden march into the middle of the clan that was the first to move? What might have been done by means of hostages of wives and children, or the chiefs themselves?... If, notwithstanding all precautions, they get together, a body of troops may make a diversion, by laying waste a country that the male inhabitants have left to prosecute rebellious schemes. How soon they must return to the defence of their property (such as it is) their wives, their children, their houses, and their cattle! But, above all, the secret, sudden night-march into the midst of them; great patrols of fifty, sixty, or one hundred men each, to terrify them; letters to the chiefs, threatening fire and the sword and certain destruction if they dare to stir; movements that seem mysterious, to keep the enemy's attention upon you, and their fears awake; these, and the like, which your experience, reading, and good sense would point out, are the means to prevent mischief"...

Speaking of the alarms that they may experience in the north, and of the steps Rickson should take to deal with any uprising which a war with France was likely to encourage, he proceeds: ⁽¹⁾ "Mr. M'Pherson should have a

(1) M'Pherson, of Cluny, was a noted outlaw who had been captain of one of the independent Highland companies before "the 45". Being

couple of hundred men in his neighbourhood, with orders to massacre the whole clan, if they show the least symptom of rebellion. They are a warlike tribe and he is a cunning, resolute fellow himself.

They should be narrowly watched ; and the party should be well commanded. will have told you that I tried to take hold of that famous man with a very small detachment. I gave the sergeant orders—in case he should succeed, and was attacked by the clan, with a view to rescue their chief—to kill him instantly, ⁽¹⁾ which I concluded would draw on the destruction of the detachment, and furnish me with a sufficient pretext (without waiting for any instructions) to march into their country, *où j'aurais fait main basse, sans miséricorde*. Would you believe that I am so bloody ? It was my real intention and I hope such execution will be done upon the first that revolt, to teach them their duty, and keep the Highlands in awe. They are a people better governed by fear than favour."

Upon the death of the Earl of Albemarle, Lord Bury, his eldest son, succeeded to the peerage, and was appointed Colonel of a cavalry regiment. This created a vacancy in the 20th to which Wolfe thought his services entitled him. His hopes of a colonelcy were soon dashed by the appointment of Colonel Philip Honeywood, and he informed his father that he had determined not to serve one moment

made a prisoner by a rebel party he espoused the Pretender's cause and for years eluded the pursuit of the military authorities.

(1) In the Rickson letters, published many years ago in Scotland, this passage is omitted.

longer than necessary, in honour, even if he should starve. A few days later when his anger had somewhat cooled he explained to his father that Lord Albemarle had informed him that General Hawke was to have the regiment and Wolfe was to remain in command. To this arrangement he had apparently no objection as Hawke, being a general ~~older~~, had a title superior to his. However, he accepted the inevitable and comforted himself with the reflection that he could "jog on in the easiest position in the army."

During this summer of 1755 Wolfe's life was uneventful but his correspondence was interesting. In it he shows that he had an intelligent general grasp of the military situation and of the progress of affairs in India and in America. He had heard favourable reports of Braddock and saw hopes of his success. And although France and England had been nominally at peace since 1748 his letters prove that he knew, as did many others, that each country was simply awaiting a favourable opportunity to declare war upon the other. Admiral Boscawen had captured the "Alizée" and the "Lys" off the coast of Cape Breton and had taken as prisoners the Governor of Louisbourg and four French officers. Wolfe remarks to his old friend Pickton that "if the French resent the affront put upon them by Mr. Boscawen the war will come on hot and sudden". Soon after this, Braddock made his ill fated attack upon Fort Duquesne where he suffered a defeat in such a way as to illustrate and justify the severest criticism of Wolfe as to the inefficiency of the army chiefs and of the military organization. Wolfe's opinion of Braddock was very much better than the latter deserved.

On the 4th or September, nearly two months after the event, Wolfe wrote to his father in the following terms :—

" The accounts of Mr. Braddock's defeat are not yet clear enough to form a right judgment of the cause of it, but I do myself believe that the cowardice and ill-behaviour of the men far exceeded the ignorance of the chief, who though not a master of the difficult art of war, was yet a man of sense and courage. I have but a very mean opinion of the Infantry in general. I know their discipline to be bad, and their valour precarious. They are easily put into disorder, and hard to recover out of it. They frequently kill their officers through fear, and murder one another in their confusion... I am sorry to say that our method of training and instructing the troops is extremely defective, and tends to no good end. We are lazy in time of peace, and of course want vigilance and activity in war. Our military education is by far the worst in Europe, and all our concerns are treated with contempt or totally neglected. It will cost us very dear some time hence. I hope the day is at a distance, but I am afraid it will come."

In a letter to his mother shortly after he makes a reference to himself that may well lead to a digression. He offers to play piquet with his mother from morning till night and to allow her to laugh at his short red hair as much as she likes.

The *Spectator* in the first number remarked that he had observed that a reader seldom peruses a book with pleasure, till he knows whether the writer of it be a black or fair man, of a mild or choleric disposition, married or a bachelor, with other particulars of a like nature.

Although we have a good many portraits and descriptions of our hero, it must be admitted that the variations are so great as to make it difficult to picture him to our imagination.

As to his physique, there is not much uncertainty, but his features have been variously portrayed from the caricature of Captain Hervy Smith to the rather good looking youth of Highmore. He was tall, erect, spare and active. Dr. Hinde, his family physician, who died in 1826, and is sometimes erroneously said to have been with him at his death, frequently described him as "a tall and robust person, with fair complexion and sandy hair, possessing a countenance calm, resolute, confident and beaming with intelligence." Dr. Cutter who was born in Maine and who served as surgeon of the New Hampshire troops in the expedition against Louisbourg in 1758, used to speak of Wolfe's "easy and engaging manners and chivalrous character," which "rendered him no less the idol of the army than his subsequent services justly made him the favorite of his country."

Despite his own references to his awkward appearance, it is evident that he had a manly, soldierly bearing, not devoid of grace. His hair was red, his eyes were blue, and his complexion had that clearness which usually characterizes "sandy" people. His face as usually represented is positively ugly in repose, although it changed much under animation. Excepting the firm severe mouth his features were decidedly weak. The chin and forehead were both small and receding, while his nose and cheek bones were prominent. His profile has not been inaptly







James North, Sc.

General Sir Home Popham, 1st Baronet
from a mezzotint engraving after the painter G. H. Ward



described as an obtuse angled triangle, the nose forming the apex.

Still this pen picture of Wolfe when compared with the only two undoubted portraits known does not do him justice.

Romney made Wolfe's death the subject of a painting for which he received a prize from the Society of Arts, and later, Benjamin West, the American artist, painted his famous historical picture, as it is erroneously called, which established his reputation. This picture is well grouped, and contains the portraits of Monckton, Dr. Adair, Capt. Hervey Smith, Major Barré, Col. Williamson, Col. Napier and others, most of whom certainly were not with Wolfe at his death, and several of whom were not at Quebec on the 13th of September. Wolfe's portrait in this picture is the conventional one, but bears of course the agonizing look appropriate to the supreme moment. It is said that West, after his picture had been finished and had left his hands, saw the portrait which was in the Warde family and expressed a regret that he had not seen it before he had made his picture.

These two pictures of Romney and of West were not painted from life and it is doubtful whether either had ever seen the subject of his work.

The reader will find short explanatory notes in connection with such of these pictures as are reproduced in this work.

If we now return to Wolfe's actions, or rather to his life for he appeared to be doing very little, we find that in the autumn of 1755 he is still complaining that the whole

business of the army seemed to be confined to reviews. To his mother he declares that "The officers of the army in general are persons of so little application to business, and have been so ill educated, that it must not surprise you to hear that a man of common industry is in reputation amongst them. I reckon it a very great misfortune to this country that I, your son, who have, I know, but a very moderate capacity, and some degree of diligence a little above the ordinary run, should be thought, as I generally am, one of the best officers of my rank in the service. I am not at all vain of the distinction. The comparison would do a man of genius very little honour, and does not illustrate me by any means ; and the consequence will be very fatal to me in the end, for as I rise in rank people will expect some considerable performances, and I shall be induced, in support of an ill-got reputation, to be lavish of my life, and shall probably meet that fate which is the ordinary effect of such conduct." The notice which he seemed to command by his military knowledge and by his devotion to duty was not confined to officers of his own or of a subordinate rank. "If I don't keep a good watch on myself I must be a little vain, for the Duke has of late given me such particular marks of his esteem and confidence that I am ashamed not to deserve it better." References to the French and to the storm that was surely brewing are frequent. So are the allusions to the desire of France to invade the shores of Kent if her troops can quietly get there to try conclusions with the English forces. Wolfe seems to fear the strength of France less than the weakness of England. He describes the army as about as merry,

as easy, and as indifferent as the civilians are supposed to be. Nobody seemed to think that the French had either will or power to resent the affronts put upon them, and some even doubted whether they were out of humour at all or not.

In the year 1756, Wolfe's letters show that he was quite convinced that war between France and England was inevitable and near. He believed that France would first make an attempt with her fleet and should it prove superior to that of England, a formidable attack would be made. "The confidence, or rather stupidity of the people of this country surpasses belief. Secure in their ignorance and presumption, they set the whole force of France at defiance." This language, a hundred and fifty years old, has been applicable to British army methods and has been applied with varying phrases and severity on many occasions, even up to the present time. And yet England was girding up her loins for a struggle that was to establish her power in far away India and in Canada, and that was to terminate more gloriously for her than had any contest into which she had ever entered. The student of history will recognize, however, that her triumphs did not rest upon the genius of her commanders but rather upon the unbounded confidence inspired in the English people by the great commoner who was at this time coming into prominence, and by the material resources which enabled her to strengthen her navy, to maintain her armies through defeat and victory, and to emerge with her strength unimpaired and her confidence justified.

Wolfe had an occasional word of praise for his fellow

officers. Nobody, he declared, deserved the King's favour more than Amherst, under whom he was destined to serve in America a few years later. His regiment was marched from Canterbury to Devizes in the month of May, but he was disappointed in his intended visit to his mother on the way. The Island of Minorca, at this time in possession of the French, caused Wolfe great anxiety, and the disgrace into which Admiral Byng fell through his failure to engage the enemy when he had an excellent chance to do so, infuriated the impetuous Wolfe, whose whole career showed that he understood that war was undertaken chiefly in order to fight the enemy, and when Byng's life was about to pay the penalty of his timidity, Wolfe's heart did not soften, as did many others. To him failure to engage an enemy could mean only cowardice or treachery, both military crimes deserving death.

On the 18th of July he wrote a notable letter to Mr. Townshend, afterwards Lord Sidney, who had sought his advice concerning a younger brother who was an officer in the army. After assuming that the young officer knew Latin and French and had some knowledge of mathematics, without which last subject one could not expect to become acquainted with the construction of fortifications and the attack and defence of places, he advises that if it had not already been done he should, while yet young, give up a year or two to the study of mathematics. He proceeds:—“As to the books that are fittest for his purpose, he may begin with the ‘King of Prussia’s Regulations for his Horse and Foot,’ where the economy and good order of an army in the lower branches are extremely well established.



Then there are the Memoirs of the Marquis de Santa Cruz, Fouquières, and Montecucculi; Folard's 'Commentaries upon Polybius'; the 'Projet de Tactique'; 'L'Attaque et la Défense des Places,' par le Maréchal de Vauban; 'Les Mémoires de Goulon'; 'L'Ingenieur de Campagne.' Le Sieur Renie for all that concerns artillery. Of the ancients, Vegetius, Cæsar, Thucydides, Xenophon's 'Life of Cyrus' and 'Retreat of the Ten Thousand Greeks.' I do not mention Polybius, because the Commentaries and the History naturally go together. Of later days, Davila, Guicciardini, Strada, and the 'Memoirs of the Duc de Sully.' There is an abundance of military knowledge to be picked out of the lives of Gustavus Aldophus, and Charles XII, King of Sweden, and of Zisca the Bohemian, and if a tolerable account could be got of the exploits of Scanderberg, it would be inestimable; for he excels all the officers, ancient and modern, in the conduct of a small defensive army. I met with him in the Turkish History, but nowhere else. The 'Life of Suetonius,' too, contains many fine things in this way. There is a book lately published that I have heard commended, *L'Art de la Guerre Pratique.*— "I suppose it is collected from all the best authors that treat of war; and there is a little volume, entitled 'Traité de la Petite Guerre,' that your brother should take in his pocket when he goes upon out-duty and detachments. The Maréchal de Puységur's book, too, is in esteem.

"I believe Mr. Townshend will think this catalogue long enough; and if he has patience to read, and desire to apply (as I am persuaded he has), the knowledge contained

in them, there is also wherewithal to make him a considerable person in his profession, and of course very useful and serviceable to his country. In general, the lives of all great commanders, and all good histories of warlike nations, will be instructive, and lead him naturally to endeavour to imitate what he must necessarily approve of.

"In these days of scarcity, and in these unlucky times, it is much to be wished that all our young soldiers of birth and education would follow your brother's steps, and, as they will have their turn to command, that they would try to make themselves fit for that important trust; without it we must sink under the superior abilities and indefatigable industry of our restless neighbours. You have drawn a longer letter upon yourself than perhaps you expected; but I could hardly make it shorter, without doing wrong to a good author. In what a strange manner have we conducted our affairs in the Mediterranean!
Quelle belle occasion manquée !"

Were it consistent with the plan of this book, it would be interesting to reproduce the letters in whole or in substance written by Wolfe during the autumn of 1756, but although his remarks upon current events were instructive, they throw no new light upon his character as a soldier or as a man. Perhaps his sensitiveness, and his confidence in himself, happily justified by his actions, are emphasized by an extract from a letter to his mother. (Dec. 6, 1756.)

"I persuade myself they will put no inferior officer (unless a peer) over my head, in which case I can't complain, not being able to say that I have ever done more than my duty, and happy if I came up to that. If any

soldier is preferred when my turn comes, I shall acquaint the Secretary at War that I am sensible of the injury that is done me, and will take the earliest opportunity to put it out of his or any man's power to repeat it. Not while the war lasts; for if 500 younger officers, one after another were to rise before me, I should continue to serve with the utmost diligence, to acquit myself to the country, and to show the Ministers that they had acted unjustly. But I flatter myself that I shall never be forced to these disagreeable measures."

Wolfe was recommended shortly after this letter to the favorable notice of the King by Sir John Mordaunt, who acted without the previous knowledge of his friend. Although his kindly intentions bore no fruit, the office of Barrackmaster-General and that of Quartermaster-General were soon offered by the Duke of Bedford, who was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Wolfe understood that the rank of Colonel would be conferred upon him and informed his father that he would soon resign and return to his battalion if this rank were omitted. However, the King, guided by the Duke of Cumberland, refused the promotion, on the ground that Wolfe was so young a lieutenant-colonel that it could not be made at once. The Duke of Bedford fulfilled his promise to his Quarter-Master by insisting as long as possible, although without success.

On the 19th of February, he wrote to the Duke a modest letter of acceptance before the question of rank was settled, and four days later he wrote to his mother a letter which showed his patriotism in a practical light. He did not offer, like a modern American humorist, to sacrifice all his

wife's relatives for the sake of his country, but he urged his "virtuous, good and disinterested" mother to interest herself on behalf of the public to persuade the General, her husband, to contribute freely to the defence of the island—by engaging in lotteries and other schemes for raising money, by which he would lose and, presumably, the state would gain; by lending to the Government without interest, or; indeed, giving, three or four thousand pounds "the savings of his salaries and the reward of his services."

Considering the advanced age of both his father and mother, Wolfe's advice must be considered as more than disinterested.

In fact, in a letter to Rickson in July, before his departure for Rochefort, he expressed the fear that he should never see either of his parents again, his mother being then dangerously ill, and his father "infirm with age."

He did not immediately resign his new offices, but made an attempt to enter upon active service on the continent with the Duke of Cumberland, which would have furnished him employment more to his liking and have given him an opportunity of resigning his commission for reasons that would commend themselves to all.

Although France and England were now fully committed to the seven years' war, less welcome to France with her financial embarrassments and her feeble navy, we shall not here discuss any of the causes, or follow any of the events except those in which Wolfe had some part. His great rival, with whose name he is forever linked in history, was now in Canada as commander in chief of the French

army there. In the biography of this French General we shall have occasion to touch upon many points which otherwise might be mentioned here.

It must be remarked, however, that with the changing ministries King and country had learned that Pitt must have a paramount place. After the lapse of eleven weeks without a ministry, a coalition was formed between Newcastle and Pitt, the former being treasurer and premier, with the congenial task of party management and the distribution of patronage, while Pitt, as principal secretary of State, took absolute control of foreign affairs and directed the war policy of the nation. It was his boast that he could save the country and that no one else could. He determined to bring France low, to strip her of her colonies, sweep her vessels from the sea, and by destroying her commerce to establish British trade.

It seemed to him that a favorable time had come for striking a severe blow, not only in America, but on the very shores of France. The insane dread that Englishmen had experienced of a French invasion of their little island had passed away, but confidence in their great power was not entirely restored.

Pitt determined to attack the French at home. An English officer, named Clarke, who had travelled in France a few years before, had represented that Rochefort, a naval arsenal on the Bay of Biscay, was not properly defended and was susceptible to attack. He pointed out that the shipping in the harbour and the sea stores on land could be destroyed or captured without much risk to the attacking party.

This suggestion was made known to Pitt, who at once saw the reasonableness of the proposal and the advantage to be derived from a successful operation against the French coast. If not much damage were done to the French by an attack here, at any rate the confidence of the English people would be assured by an aggressive policy, while a diversion would be created in favor of Frederick of Prussia, whom the Duke of Cumberland was assisting with troops in Germany. France certainly could not make a strong defence by sea and having 150,000 men engaged with Frederick, it could not in all probability offer a great resistance to an unexpected attack on the coast.

Accordingly Pitt, although the season was far advanced when he adopted the plan, set about with characteristic energy to fit out a secret expedition. Lord Anson the head of the admiralty, was ordered to have the fleet ready to set sail upon a certain day, and sailors were impressed at every sea port : provisions were ordered for six months, and the transports were provided with ten boats each, so that a rapid landing might be effected. Although Lord Anson had declared to Pitt that it was impossible to have the fleet equipped at the appointed time, everything was in readiness early in September, some six weeks after the plan was mooted. The extraordinary haste with which the orders of Pitt were executed is accounted for by the fact that he threatened Lord Anson with impeachment if they were not carried out as directed.

The chief naval command was entrusted to Sir Edward Hawke, and the land forces 10,000 men, were placed under the command of Sir John Montagu. Lord George

Sackville had declined to act as commander in chief on so important an expedition, and the King had objected to Major General Conway as too young an officer for so great a responsibility. In an evil hour Sir John Mordaunt was chosen for what he had been rather than for what he was. He had adopted the profession of arms thirty-six years before this time and had served with something not much less than distinction in the wars of his day. However, he was not born to greatness, nor did he achieve it. When it was thrust upon him he had reached the period of the sere and yellow leaf. With failing health and bodily powers his mind became enfeebled, a fact that was most noticeable by reason of his growing indecision, his lack of self reliance, and his mental sluggishness.

Major General Conway was the second in command, and it appears to have been expected that he would supply the energy and the activity which were wanting in the older man. If this were so, a second mistake was made in his appointment. Walpole who was decidedly friendly has characterized him as wanting "the ex-trinsic of merit. Added to these little failings, he had a natural indecision in his temper, weighing with too much minuteness, and to much fluctuation, whatever depended on his own judgment." The third General officer was Cornwallis, and Lieut.-Colonel Wolfe was the fourth in rank, as quarter-master general. Walpole describes him in conuexion with this proposed descent upon Rochefort in these terms:—"Under these was Wolfe, a young officer who had contracted reputation from his intelligence of discipline, and from the perfection to which he brought his own regiment. The world could

not expect more of him than he thought himself capable of performing. He looked upon danger as the favourable moment that would call forth his talents."

The position which Wolfe was to occupy was not one in which he could distinguish himself, or in which danger could call forth his talents.

Before his departure, he wrote a letter to the Duke of Bedford under whom he held his Irish appointment, to give him reasons for his expected absence. For this letter he says, with a characteristic turn, that upon what service he is going he does "not pretend to guess; nor ought we to be very solicitous about it, rather desiring to serve well than to know where."

On the 7th of September, the whole fleet set sail, carrying ten infantry regiments, fifty light horse, a large train of artillery and everything in fact that was needed for the enterprise. As some one wittily remarked nothing was lacking but a general.

So secret had been the plans that the destination of the fleet was a matter of conjecture even when Englands' shores were left behind. The passage was slow and tedious, calms and fogs retarding the movement of the ships five days together.

The orders were as definite and as mandatory as could be given in such a case. "You are," they read, "to attempt, as far as shall be found practicable a descent with the forces under your command, on the French coast, at or near Rochefort; in order to attack, if practicable, and by a vigorous impression force that place; and to burn and destroy, to the utmost of your power, all Docks, Magazines,

Arsenal and Shipping that may be found there ; and exert such other efforts as you judge most proper for annoying the enemy."

Admiral Hawke, after an examination of the coast, was of opinion that a landing could be effected. The landing place was good, the sea was calm, there were no French batteries near enough to prevent an orderly disembarkation.

The inhabitants, of course, gave alarm signals which called all available defence into place and diminished the advantage that was anticipated from an unexpected attack. Yet there was indecision, delay, divided counsel.

The fleet and army lay inactive five days before Rochefort while prisoners were being examined and councils of war were being held.

Sir John Mordaunt and his council decided that it would be too dangerous an undertaking, because it might be difficult or impossible to re-imbark the troops if bad weather should come. In consequence of this and of the long passage, which had given the French timely warning, the council judged that the defence would be too strong for the attack. Yet after this conclusion two days more were spent in deliberation, with the result that it was decided to land the troops with all possible despatch !

At midnight the troops were transferred to boats where they awaited orders for three hours. And when the orders came they were to the effect that the troops were to return to the transports. This they did with murmurs of dissatisfaction.

Wolfe's part in this sorry business was useless except as

and directing attention to his military judgment

of the situation.

In private terms with the commander in chief, he said that which was not justified by his rank or position, he had reconnoitred the country; and having received advice as to methods of procedure.

He had sent a boat upon the island of Aix, which had returned to a bombardment, and with a telescope had seen land.

At a distance a point jutting out between Rochefort and this point, Chattelailon, he found a favorable for the landing of the soldiers. He also said that he saw a sandy promontory, called Chatelailon, which was defended by a fort which it was necessary to attack before Rochefort could be attacked. He then went back to the Admiral and the commander in chief to make his observations.

The Admiral said that a man-of-war be sent to batter the fort, and a descent be made on the side of Rochelle, and that the assault without a moment's delay at Chattelailon should be made. The Admiral approved the plan so far as he was concerned, sent officers to make soundings, and put everything in readiness for the proposed descent. In the afternoon of the 24th of September, the officers who made the soundings returned with a favorable report. Sir Edward Hawke had maturely considered this matter, and informed Sir John Mordaunt that he thought it might be done, and Sir John immediately called a council of war to consider the matter.

The consideration lasted the whole of the next day, and

resulted as we have already mentioned, in the rejection of the proposal and in an abortive decision on the 28th to attack.

The admiral then informed the commander in chief that if there was nothing to be done he would withdraw the fleet and return to England. Thus ended the expedition upon which a million of pounds had been thrown away.

An investigation was held into the conduct of the expedition, the report of which reads like a comedy.

It appeared from the explanations of the chief officers that the troops could not land by night, because they should have a full view of the place where they were to touch the shore; they could not land by day for fear that the enemy would see them; and they could not land by moonlight which, for some obscure reason, was considered worst of all.

General Conway had recorded in his notebook the fact that one Boneau, a French fisherman who had been taken prisoner, "was examined almost a whole day before the council and," he naively adds, "he was so very indistinct and unsatisfactory that the council was quite out of patience with him."

The patience of a council of war that could waste a whole day examining a fisherman as to fortifications and military engineering seems for practical purposes inexhaustable, but it was not greater than the caution of the men who further explained that they did not try to effect a landing because they thought the enemy might be concealed behind the neighbouring sand hills. The report after the investigation was over rejected all excuses as

insufficient. It reads, in part : " We conceive another cause of the failure of the expedition to have been, that, instead of attempting to land when the report was received on the 24th of September, from Rear Admiral Brodrick and the Captains, ⁽¹⁾ who had been sent to sound and reconnoitre, a council of war was summoned and held on the 25th, in which it was unanimously ⁽²⁾ resolved not to land ; as the attempt upon Rochefort was neither advisable nor practicable. But it does not appear to us, that there were then, or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops, or batteries on the shore, sufficient to have prevented the attempting a descent in pursuance of the instructions signed by your Majesty ; neither does it appear to us, that there were any sufficient reasons to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was so far changed in respect of its strength, or posture of defence, since the expedition was first resolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack upon the place, in order to burn and destroy the docks, magazines, arsenals, and shipping, in obedience to your Majesty's commands.

" And we think ourselves obliged to remark upon the council of war, of the 28th of September, that no reason could have existed, sufficient to prevent the attempt of landing, previous to that day, as the council then unanimously resolved to land with all possible despatch."

" We can not but look upon the Expedition as having failed, from the time the great object of it was laid aside in

(1) They had been sent to sound and reconnoitre as a consequence of Wolfe's plans, as we have already said.

(2) Lt.-Col. Wolfe naturally was not one of this council.

the council of war on the 25th." This last clause is remarkable as justifying the judgment of Wolfe, the quartermaster, whose plan would undoubtedly have resulted in a great success. In fact the French themselves when they heard of the attempt, declared that the English had found their weak spot, and expected nothing less than a disaster.

The members of the commission of enquiry were Lieutenant General the Duke of Marlborough, Major General Lord George Sackville, and Major General Waldegrave, whose report was delivered on the 21st of November.

No action was taken against Conway or Cornwallis, but Sir John Mordaunt was brought to trial before a court martial and acquitted. Wolfe's evidence was taken in both cases, and his replies, his wide military knowledge, his alertness of judgment, made a profound impression, and created the conviction that had he, young as he was, been in command, the King's instructions would have been carried out and France would have received a severe blow. Besides, Admiral Hawke who probably knew precisely what Wolfe proposed to do, spoke in high terms of praise of him to Lord Anson, who took the trouble to repeat the Admiral's words to the King.

In consequence of this Wolfe received the rank of colonel to which he had been long aspiring.

After his return to England he wrote several letters in which he gives an account of the Rochefort expedition, but although his conduct had marked him for promotion he has no word of praise for himself, no hint as to his good but unheeded advice. At the risk of much iteration we will quote a few characteristic passages.

To his mother to whom his self praise would have sounded sweet he says : "As to the expedition, it has been conducted so ill that I am ashamed to have been one of the party. The public could not do better than dismiss six or eight of us from the service. No zeal, no ardour, no care or concern for the good and honour of the country. I have begun to dismiss myself by surrendering up my office of Quartermaster-General for Ireland."

However, humiliation over the Rochefort affair was not the chief reason for his resigning his Irish appointment for he adds : "They thought proper to put a younger lieutenant-colonel over me, and I thought it proper to resign. My Lord Barrington says, he has nothing to do with Irish affairs, so refers me to Mr. Secretary Rigby ; but his Lordship desired me to suspend my operations for a few days, which I accordingly do. I will certainly not go to Ireland without the rank of colonel, and am indifferent whether I get it or not. I can't part with any other employment, because I have nothing else to trust to ; nor do I think it consistent with honour to sneak off in the middle of a war." This letter was written on the 17th of October, before the investigation or the court martial.

On the following day he wrote to his uncle Walter, a letter from which we extract a summary of events arranged under dates :

"The season of the year and the nature of the enterprise called for the quickest and most vigorous execution, whereas our proceedings were quite otherwise. We were in sight of the Isle of Rhé the 20th September, consequently were seen by the enemy (as their signals left us no room

to doubt) and it was the 23rd before we fired a gun. That afternoon and night slipped through our hands,—the lucky moment of confusion and consternation among our enemies.

“The 24th, Admirals and Generals consult together, and resolve upon nothing between them but to hold a council of war.

“The 25th, this famous council sat from morning till late at night, and the result of the debates was unanimously not to attack the place they were ordered to attack, and for reasons that no soldier will allow to be sufficient.

“The 26th, the Admiral sends a message to the General, intimating that if they did not determine to do something there he would go to another place.

“The 27th, the Generals and Admirals view the land with glasses, and agree upon a second council of war, having by this time discovered their mistake.

“The 28th, they deliberate, and resolve to land that night. Orders are issued out accordingly, but the wind springing up after the troops had been two or three hours in the boats, the officers of the navy declare it difficult and dangerous to attempt the landing. The troops are commanded back to their transports, and so ended the Expedition.”

Though he indulges in no praise of himself he is not slow under cover of privacy to express his contempt, too well grounded, for his brother officers. He proceeds: “The true state of the case is, that our sea officers do not care to be engaged in any business of this sort, where little is to be had but blows and reputation; and the officers of the infantry are so profoundly ignorant that an enterprise

of any vigour astonishes them to that degree that they have not strength of mind nor confidence to carry it through."....

"I see no remedy, for we have no officers from the Commander-in-chief⁽¹⁾ down to Mr. Webb and Lord Howe;⁽²⁾ and the navy list is not much better. If they would even blunder on and fight a little, making some amends to the public by their courage for their want of skill; but this excessive degree of caution, or whatever name it deserves, leaves exceeding bad impressions among the troops, who, to do them justice, upon this occasion showed all the signs of spirit and good will."

On the 21st of October, Wolfe wrote to his father that he had learned that the King had given him the rank of colonel, "which at this time is more to be prized than at any other, because it carries with it a favourable appearance as to my conduct upon this last expedition, and an acceptance of my good intentions." A few days, later he wrote again to his father under somewhat unusual circumstances.

The Eighth Regiment of which General Wolfe was the colonel formed a part of the recent expedition, but as the General was too old and infirm to go to Rochefort he naturally asked his Lieutenant-Colonel, Lafausille, for a report after the return of the troops.

(1) Sir John Ligonier, afterwards Viscount Ligonier of Enniskillen, in the peerage of Ireland.

(2) It is evident that this is meant as an exception in favour of these two gentlemen. In a letter to Rickson from which quotations follow he says, "As it is, Captain Howe carried off all the honours of this enterprise."

The latter, apparently, in the course of the report referred General Wolfe to his son for certain particulars that he felt unable to give. The son wrote to his father in consequence a letter that would not have pleased Lafausille. The letter begins : " Tis an admirable circumstance for Lafausille to ask me about an expedition that he himself was engaged in. His lumbago left him very *à propos*; for just as he got to the Basque Road he revived. One's native air has surprising effects! All that I can tell about it is, that we blundered most egregiously on all sides—sea and land ; that we lost three days without and three within, and consequently couldn't propose to march to Paris this season. I believe the country is not able to bear many jokes of this sort ; nor have the fleets and arms of this nation reputation enough to excuse now and then a *faux pas*. However, let justice be done to the executive part ; the seamen and soldiers in general were most desirous and most earnest for employment.

" These disappointments, I hope, will not affect their courage ; nothing I think, can hurt their discipline,—it is at its worst. They drink and swear, plunder and massacre, with any troops in Europe, the Cossacks and Calmucks themselves not excepted ; with this difference that they have not quite so violent an appetite for blood and bon-fires."

On the 5th of November he wrote to his old friend Rickson even more freely than he had written to his father, but in a different vein. He was now writing to a young officer to whom his own experiences might prove useful, and in consequence he devotes the first-part of the letter

to the lessons he had learned upon the luckless expedition without giving a recapitulation of events.

"I thank you very heartily for your welcome back. I am not sorry that I went, notwithstanding what has happened; one may always pick up something useful from amongst the most fatal errors. I have found out that an Admiral should attempt to run into an enemy's port immediately after he appears before it; that he should anchor the transport ships and frigates as close as he can to the land; that he should reconnoitre and observe it as quick as possible, and lose no time in getting the troops on shore; that previous directions should be given in respect to landing the troops, and a proper distribution made for the boats of all sorts, appointing leaders and fit persons for conducting the different divisions.

"On the other hand, experience shows me that, in an affair depending upon vigour and dispatch, the Generals should settle their plan of operations, so that no time may be lost in idle debate and consultations when the sword should be drawn; that pushing on smartly is the road to success, and more particularly so in an affair of this nature; that nothing is to be reckoned an obstacle to your undertaking which is not found really so upon trial; that in war something must be allowed to chance and fortune, seeing it is in its nature hazardous, and an option of difficulties; that the greatness of an object should come under consideration, opposed to the impediments that lie in the way; that the honour of one's country is to have some weight; and that, in particular circumstances and times, the loss of a thousand men is rather an advantage to a



Two ornate flintlock pistols
belonging to General Wolfe

nation than otherwise, seeing that gallant attempts raise its reputation and make it respectable ; whereas the contrary appearances sink the credit of a country, ruin the troops, and create infinite uneasiness and discontent at home." (1)

As we have already pointed out Wolfe's letters contain no reference to his part in the Expedition, but in a letter to Captain Parr, he makes a nearer approach to an expression of his own actions and views than in any other which we have seen. He says : " I look upon the proceedings in the Bay of Biscay as flowing from natural causes, and could have told you in the Isle of Wight (what I actually did to some who were in the secret) either that we should attempt nothing, or execute ill what we did attempt. I will be open enough and vain enough to tell you that there might be a lucky moment to be seized for the public service, which I watched for; but it came too late, and there ended the reputation of three bad Generals. You must burn this insolent letter."

Although Wolfe said very little about himself he became the subject of much conversation in military and political circles. The evidence given at the inquiry into the conduct of the Expedition brought out very plainly the fact that Wolfe's plans would in all human probability have resulted in a great national success had his superior officers, although too incapable to form them, been possessed of enough good sense and courage to carry them out. He himself was under examination, and his ready replies and wide knowledge of military matters excited the attention of many to

(1) This letter is given in full in the appendix, vol. VI. pp. 22 and 23.

whom he was practically unknown before. This fact is worth repetition because of the somewhat prevalent idea that Pitt selected Wolfe two years later for the Expedition against Quebec as one might buy a pig in a poke, as the Scottish expression has it. Even before the enquiry, Sir Edward Hawke spoke to Lord Anson in praise of Wolfe's admirable plans and good intentions which were not accepted, and Lord Anson took the trouble to mention the matter to the King. After the enquiry there were many who declared that Howe and Wolfe, had they been in command, would have terminated the Rochefort affair with honour to themselves and to the nation.

CHAPTER VI.

LOUISBOURG.

AFTER Wolfe landed at Portsmouth he remained for sometime in the neighborhood of London, going afterwards to Blackheath and occupying his father's vacant house.

On the first of December he was there feeling himself a prisoner, in a sense, as he had to remain within call for the general court martial of General Mordaunt. His reputation as a regimental disciplinarian was at this time quite established in the army, not only amongst private soldiers, who by the way admire the strict, even severe, commander, provided he is just and knows his duty, but amongst his superior officers his name and work seem to have been frequently mentioned. In December he explained the nature of his discipline to the Prince of Wales, who was extremely desirous of receiving information upon such subjects. Although he does not say so himself, it is safe to assume that his explanations were not given unsolicited, and further that the young colonel was regarded as an unusual officer to merit such notice.

The campaigns of 1757 had now ended, and with less satisfaction in America than at home.

Wolfe characterized the officers in America quite as freely as those with whom he had to do. They too were "dilatory, ignorant, irresolute, and (had) some grains of a very unmanly quality, and very unsoldierlike or unsailoring like." (1)

The Earl of Loudon, commander in chief of the forces in America, was a dismal failure. Fort William Henry was taken by the French, while Webb, instead of marching with his 4000 men to the relief of Monro, fell back upon hearing of Montcalm's approach and left Monro to his fate.

Loudon was to co-operate with the Navy and reduce Louisbourg in order to command the approach to the St. Lawrence, through which Canada received her supplies.

This was to be the principal operation in America, but it was nearly as bad as the Rochefort affair.

With some 12,000 land forces and a strong fleet Loudon and Admiral Holborne set sail in August from Halifax to surprise Louisbourg, but learning that he was expected by the French, Loudon abandoned the enterprise. Later in the year with the fleet strengthened by four additional men of war the British vessels again approached Louisbourg, but as the French admiral kept his ships under cover of the land batteries instead of going out to meet the enemy, nothing was done. The British admiral hovered about the coast of Cap Breton until late in October when his fleet was scattered and broken by violent storms, and was obliged to return to England.

(1) Letter to Rickson. Appendix Vol. VI, p 23. See also Sackville correspondence, Vol. VI.

Mr. Pitt soon after recalled Loudon, and determined upon a more vigorous American policy. General Abercrombie was made commander in chief of the forces in America, and Admiral Boscawen succeeded in the command of the navy.

Pitt's chief plan for the year 1758 was the reduction of Louisbourg by, naturally, a united action on the part of the navy and the land forces. For the command of the latter he selected Colonel Amherst, whom he recalled from Germany and raised to the rank of Major General.

Under him were three brigadiers, Whitmore, Lawrence and Wolfe. Whitmore and Lawrence were already in America, and Wolfe probably expressed a desire or a willingness to serve with the expeditionary army before Louisbourg. He said in a letter to Rickson on the 12th of January: "Being of the profession of arms, I would seek all occasions to serve, and therefore have thrown myself in the way of the American war; though I know that the very passage threatens my life, and that my constitution must be utterly ruined and undone, and this from no motive either of avarice or ambition." His financial position was an unenviable one and his experience was enough to guarantee that he was not induced by motives of avarice to proffer his services. He was now obliged, after all his year of service, to borrow money from his father to fit himself out. To his mother he says: "Upon recollection, it costs me dear to serve. £200 the last affair; £500 or £600 now; and an employment that I am about to resign,"⁽¹⁾

(1) On the 26th of January he resigned his Irish appointment.

so that if we should miscarry, my condition will be desperate, and my finances exhausted. The ladies, too, will despise a beaten lover, so that every way I must be undone. And yet I run readily, heartily and cheerfully into the road of ruin. If my thoughts could be greatly diverted from their present object the youngest of your neighbours might rival my Lady Bath."

This last reference seems to be to Miss Katherine Lowther to whom he became engaged after his return from Louisbourg, and whose name appears in the first sentence of his will.

Although Wolfe had interested himself greatly for the promotion of friends like Carleton and Rickson, and of others less intimate with him like Barré and Calcraft, he was always to be found in the place demanded of conscience. To his mother he wrote in the following terms in reply to her request that he should use his influence to procure a commission for one of her nephews: "You cannot doubt my readiness to oblige you in any thing that is of immediate concern to yourself; but you must not put upon me actions that I should blush to engage in, and that my uncle should blush to ask. I never can recommend any but a gentleman to serve with gentlemen. There is little prospect of a low dog's doing any shining act. When such a thing does happen, a reward is due to merit, so unexpected courage alone is no sort of recommendation to put a private soldier upon the footing of an officer. I don't apprehend that Mr. addresses himself to me, or that he has any just right to expect that I should interest myself in behalf of an idle vagabond; for such he must be,

by the expression of his letter. I will write a civil letter to my uncle, which may serve as an apology for the General and myself."

Wolfe did not speak very graciously of his cousin, but we may assume that he really classed the young man amongst the "canaille", whom in a previous letter to Captain Parr he had expressed a wish to exclude from the service so far as he could do so. His mother, apparently, rebuked him for his views or his manner of expressing them, and then conveyed the hope that he would not take offence at her remarks. He replied: "I take nothing ill from you, nor from any body, that is not meant as ill. What I said upon my uncle Tain's letter arises from the frankness of my temper. When I have good reasons I don't conceal them".

On the 7th of February, he wrote a long letter to Lord George Sackville in which he makes observations concerning military matters generally. In fact it is so didactic in form as to force upon the reader the conviction that Wolfe and his old colonel were on terms of intimacy, and that Wolfe felt sure of his position. The letter is too long to reproduce here, but a quotation or two may be useful as illustrating features of his character: "If I had any constitution to spare, I should certainly desire to succeed Monsieur de Vaudreuil in the government of Canada; but I can't trust to it." . . .

"The condition of the troops that compose this garrison (or rather, vagabonds that stroll about in dirty red clothes from one gin shop to another) exceeds all belief. There is not the least shadow of discipline, care, or attention.

Disorderly soldiers of different regiments are collected here; some from the ships, others from the hospital, some waiting to embark,—dirty, drunken, insolent rascals, improved by the hellish nature of the place, where every kind of corruption, immorality and looseness is carried to excess."

"He (Captain Rickson) wishes to be confirmed in his office by commission, as usual, and as it ought to have been long ago, if, as (I believe) some bye-views and artifices had not prevented it. That employment⁽¹⁾ has usually the rank of Lieutenant Colonel annexed to it, which Rickson may pretend to in point of merit with almost any man in the service. Your Lordship, I think, is persuaded that I never did, nor ever will, undertake to establish any man in your good opinion but from a thorough conviction that he deserves your esteem."....

"Barré, who knows Whitmore better than anybody, assures me that he has no health nor constitution for such business as we are going upon; he never was a soldier, but otherwise, a very worthy gentleman. I pray you beware how you employ him near the top; this prevented, we may jog on tolerably."

He continues with a strong recommendation of a lieutenant of foot, Cheshire by name, "a modest, sensible, manly young officer." "He seems to understand the war in America well, and speaks of it judiciously. Alas! there are but few such men, and those too often neglected."

Although Wolfe despised the soldiery in garrison where

(1) He was acting as deputy quartermaster-general of Scotland.

their lack of morals shocked and disgusted him, he always gave them credit for their valour in the field.

With the officers it was quite a different matter. He seems to have liked them as men, but despised them as soldiers. However, his future associates were of the better class of officers. Amherst whom we have already mentioned deserves rather more credit than historians are willing to give him. His services in 1759 not only lacked the brilliancy of his career in Germany, but dimmed his reputation. He is overshadowed by Wolfe, but notwithstanding his dilatory policy when Wolfe was anxiously awaiting him under the walls of Quebec he was really an able officer.

At any rate, he could safely be expected not to repeat Loudon's tactics before Louisbourg, especially when aided by Admiral Boscawen instead of Holborne.

Amherst was not ready to leave England with the squadron, but he followed on the "Dublin" and as he approached the harbour at Halifax, on the 28th of May, the fleet consisting of twenty-three ships of the line and eighteen frigates, one hundred and fifty-seven sail including the transports, was sailing out. Amherst at once assumed command of the land forces which till his arrival had been under the command of the Admiral. On the second of June a part of the fleet anchored in Gabarus Bay, about three leagues from Louisbourg and at the south-west of it. Despite the fact that a heavy swell rolled in from the sea and made all efforts to reconnoitre both difficult and dangerous, Amherst, Lawrence and Wolfe ventured to reconnoitre the shore in the evening. They discovered

that the "enemy had a chain of posts along the shore from Cape Noir to Flat Point and irregulars from thence to the bottom of the bay with works and batteries at all places where it was probable or practicable for any troops to land." (1)

The plan of action which resulted from the observations of the Commander in chief and his Brigadiers was set forth in the following orders which were published from on board the Namur, the Admiral's ship;

" June 3, 1758.

" The army is to land and attack the French in three
" different bodies, and at three different places. All the
" grenadiers and detachments of the right wing land upon
" the right, in the bay, within the White Point. The
" detachments of the left wing land in two little bays,
" about a mile and an half to the left of the White Point.
" The light infantry, irregulars, and Highlanders are to
" land in the fresh water Cove, in order to take the enemy
" in flank and rear, and cut some of them off from the
" town. Men of war are ordered to each of these places,
" to scour the coast, and protect the troops at their landing.
" The grenadiers are to be drawn up, as they lie in their

(1) An Authentic Account of the Reduction of Louisbourg, In June and July 1758, by a Spectator. London, 1758. This account was given by a writer who "though present the whole time, neither was himself an *Actor* in any Thing he relates, nor under any *Influence* from Dependence or Connexion with those that were. And the *Authenticity* of the Whole may be as far relied on, as it is possible to credit the concurrent Accounts of several *Gentlemen*, who were present at its different Parts, and related them regularly as they were transacted." This Account is pretty closely followed here, in comparison with others less detailed.

" brigades, upon the right of the right attack, and to
" rendezvous in a line behind a boat with a red flag, in
" which Brigadier Wolfe will be. The detachments of the
" right wing are to assemble in a line, as they are in their
" brigades, behind a boat with a white flag, where Brigadier
" Whitmore will be. The detachments of the left wing
" are to rendezvous in the same manner, behind a boat
" with a blue flag, where Brigadier-General Lawrence will
" command. The Highlanders, light infantry, and irreg-
" ulars are to rendezvous to the right of the island, lying
" before the fresh water Cove, and to be ready to row into
" the Cove, when the signal is given ; the signal to row on
" shore will be three guns from the Sutherland, repeated
" by the Admiral. Although the Highlanders, light
" infantry, and irregulars are a separate attack upon the
" left, yet, when they land, they are to consider themselves
" as a part of the left wing, and immediately under the
" command of Brigadier-General Lawrence.

" Field-Officers for the right attack, for the grenadiers,
" Colonel Murray, Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, Majors
" Farquar and Murray.

" Detachment of the right wing, Colonel Burton, Colo-
" nel Foster, Majors Prevost and Derby.

" Field-Officers of the center attack, or detachments of
" the left wing, Colonel Wilmott, Lieutenant - Colonel
" Handfield, Majors Hamilton and Hussey.

" All the remaining Field-Officers of the army are to
" come on shore with the second disembarkation ; as
" Bragg's regiment is to be detached for a particular duty,
" they are not to furnish grenadiers for the right attack,

" and the whole Highland regiment is to be employed,
" with the light infantry and irregulars, upon the left.

" Captain Amherst and Captain D'Arcy are appointed
" to act as Aids-de-Camp to Major-General Amherst.
" Lieutenant Tonge, of General Warburton's regiment, is
" to attend (as Engineer) on the Deputy Quarter-Master-
" General, on the landing of the troops. Colonel Fraser's
" company of grenadiers, in the Princess Amelia's boat,
" will row to join their own regiment.

" The signal to prepare to land:—A red flag, with a
" blue cross at the foretopmast-head of the Sutherland,
" and to be repeated by the Namur."

" NAMUR, June 4.

" As the surf is so great, that the disposition for landing
" in three divisions cannot take place, and as the men of
" war cannot be carried near enough to the shore of the
" bay within the White Point, to cover the landing there:
" the General (not to lose a moment's time) has thought
" proper to order, that an attack be made upon the little
" entrenchments within the fresh water Cove, with four
" companies of grenadiers, followed by the light infantry
" and irregulars, who are to be supported by the Highland
" regiment, and those by the remaining eight companies
" of grenadiers, that no body of men, regular or irregular,
" may dare to stand a moment before them: these detach-
" ments are to be commanded by Brigadier-General Wolfe.
" The detachments of the left wing, under Brigadier-
" General Lawrence, are to draw up, as was before ordered,
" behind the frigates of the center attack, in readiness, if

" the weather permits, to run ashore upon the opposite
" beach ; of, if not, to follow the grenadiers, when it is
" judged necessary. The right wing to draw up to the
" right, as in the orders of yesterday, opposite to the bay,
" that is, on this side of the White Point, to fix the
" enemy's attention, or to follow the troops of the left
" wing, when they shall receive orders for that purpose.
" The boats of this division are to keep out at a mile and
" an half, or two miles' distance from the land, extending
" in a considerable length of line.

" As the grenadiers will now assemble towards the left
" instead of the right, the Captains must be attentive to
" the red flag in Brigadier Wolfe's boat, which is to be the
" center of their line, and range themselves accordingly.
" The detachments of the right wing must have the same
" attention to Brigadier-General Whitmore's flag, and
" those of the left wing to Brigadier Lawrence's flag, and
" the whole to assemble at their different posts, immedia-
" tely after the signal is made to prepare to land. The
" four oldest companies of grenadiers are to attack first ;
" the Royal and Forbes's, under the command of Lieuten-
" ant-Colonel Fletcher, in the little bay upon the right ;
" Amherst's and Whitmore's, under the command of
" Major Murray, in another little bay upon the left. The
" Field-Officers and Captains of these four companies of
" grenadiers will receive their particular instructions from
" Brigadier Wolfe. After the grenadiers are landed, and
" have taken post along the intrenchment, the light
" infantry are to land, push forward into the wood, and
" force the enemy's irregulars to retire."

“ June 6, twelve o’clock.

“ The troops are to return on board their transports, as
“ the surf on the shore is so great, that the Admiral thinks
“ they cannot be disembarked with any kind of safety.”

“ NAMUR, June 7.

“ If the surf should be so great, that the troops cannot
“ land this afternoon, the General intends to attack the
“ enemy to-morrow at the dawn of day, unless the weather
“ is so bad as to make it impracticable. The boats are to
“ assemble in three divisions as before; the right wing at
“ the Violet transport, where there will be three lights
“ hung on the off side, near the water’s edge; the left wing
“ at the St. George transport, with two lights hung in the
“ same manner; and the rendez-vous of the grenadiers,
“ &c., will be at the Neptune transport, where a single
“ light will be hung out. As the General’s intentions are
“ to surprise the enemy, as well as attack them, he depends
“ upon the care and vigilance of the Officers commanding
“ in the transports, that his orders be strictly complied
“ with.

“ The troops are to be in their boats by two o’clock
“ exactly. No lights are to be shewn in any of the trans-
“ ports, except the signals above-mentioned, after twelve
“ o’clock at night, and there must be a profound silence
“ throughout the whole army, and, above all things, the
“ firing of even a single musket must be avoided. The
“ men of war’s boats will be sent to their respective tran-
“ sports, by one in the morniug.

" The General is sufficiently convinced of the good dis-
" position of the troops, by what he was already seen ; he
" desires they will not halloo, or cry out at landing, but
" be attentive to the commands of their Officers, by which
" they can never be put into any confusion, or fail of suc-
" cess ; their Officers will lead them directly to the enemy.

" If the Admiral and General should think proper to
" alarm the enemy in the beginning of the night, the
" troops are to take no manner of notice of it, but prepare
" themselves to obey their order, with great exactness, at
" the appointed time, and so as to be ready to row off, from
" the three places of rendez-vous, a little before day-light."

It will be seen that a disposition was first made for landing in three different places, but on the 4th of June it was noticed that there was much less surf in one of the coves than at other points, and in consequence the plans were altered with the intention of landing at that place alone. However, for nearly a week thick fogs, storms and gales rendered all attempts to land impracticable. The Trent frigate struck on a rock and unshipped her rudder and was with difficulty got off. The transports which had been brought as near the shore as practicable for convenience of landing suffered severely in their cables and anchors, and were in constant danger of being driven upon the rocky coast. The troops after being transferred to boats and tossed about by the sea for some hours were returned to the transports on the report of the Captains of the fleet who judged that the surf was too high for a landing. In the meantime the French who had long been

expecting an attack redoubled their efforts to strengthen their position, already rendered so strong by nature and by military skill, and kept up a cannonade against any part of the British fleet that seemed within range.

The British frigates almost daily fired at parties of the enemy who ventured near the shore. On the 7th of June the weather became more favorable and the sea was less boisterous. Arrangements were made for a landing on the following morning in three divisions.

Previous to the landing the Sutherland and several other frigates were stationed near the shore to cover the approach of the boats. At about four o'clock in the morning one division of boats under the command of Brigadier General Wolfe attempted to land at the left of Kennington Cove with 600 light infantry, the whole battalion of Highlanders, and four companies of Grenadiers. At the same time a feint of landing was made at the right towards White Point by Brigadier General Whitmore, and another in the centre by Brigadier General Lawrence at Fresh Water Cove. The left wing found the shore at Kennington Cove impregnable and was obliged to withdraw after some loss. The British now discovered how strong the position of the French had been made in anticipation of such an attack.

Some three thousand regulars, irregulars and Indians were posted along the shore at all the probable places of landing, behind breastworks which were fortified at proper intervals with cannon and swivels. They had erected redans mounted with cannon to prevent flanking movements, while all the approaches to the front lines were protected by fallen trees whose tops pointed to the shore

Major Wolfe's Orders
for the 1st of the Royal Regt.
Loring February 12th 1748/9.

The Major recommends very particularly to the men to pay their Quarters clean, who is concerned that nothing tends more to their Health; the Regiments and Companies will in all the Quarantine duty, give the necessary Attention to this Article; when the Major or any of the Officers inspect those Companies, it is found in proper Order.

The Regiments are always to wear their uniforms, though not in their great trials between Troon & Lorking, and Lorking & the southward in winter; but the Troops will be dressed in uniform side Arms.

No Soldier is to leave his guard during the day, from being away without his Officers consent, as that and no other has where service is concerned will be punishment with 1000 l.

The Soldiers to avoid all Kind of Disputes with the Indians, and at any time the should chance to fall into their hands, not by no means to meet with them, but as soon as possible with them, the Officers of his guard will endeavor to settle him a man to go with him, and make his friends.

and whose branches were so interlaced as to make it well nigh impossible for men to pass through even when unopposed by cannon and musket.

This defence was so inconspicuous that from a distance the prostrate trees had the appearance of a continuous green, and the guns which they concealed could not be observed at a distance greater than their effective range.

Although the British frigates had fired upon these parts to clear a way for the landing of the boats, and Admiral Durell had reconnoitred the shore within easy range, the French withheld their fire for the purpose of retaining their concealment until such a time as it would be effective. However, as the boats under command of Wolfe approached the shore the French began to play their batteries, to fire red hot balls, and to employ their small arms.

This premature action on their part was fatal to their project, for the British did not effect a landing at all. Had they been allowed to disembark their troops upon the narrow beach few could have escaped alive. Seeing the strength of the enemy they hastily drew off towards the centre, determined to land wherever there was any fighting chance of success. Shortly after this repulse Lieutenants Browne and Hopkins with Ensign Grant and about one hundred of the light infantry gained the shore at the right of the cove.

Wolfe then ordered the rest of his division to push on as rapidly as possible to the shore. Although they were exposed to the fire of a battery of three guns which a part of the time raked and a part of the time flanked the boats, and to the fire at short range of small arms, they were all

soon landed with little loss, excepting that twenty two grenadiers were drowned through the staving and upsetting of their boats in the surf.

"Among the foremost of these parties was Brigadier Wolfe who jumped out of his boat into the surf to get to the shore, and was readily followed by numbers of the troops, amidst a most obstinate fire of the enemy."

All the men emulated the valorous conduct of their young leader, and springing into the water waist deep rushed ashore and formed in good order. Although the roughness of the sea caused the death of many a brave soldier it was on the whole a fortunate circumstance. An eye witness, says, "I believe we benefited by it in a very eminent degree, for when the boats were lifted up by the violence of the swell to a considerable height, the enemy's shot, which would probably have done execution, had we been upon even water, passed under us; and in like manner some flew over us, in our quick transition from high to low; this is the only reason that I can assign for our not losing more men by the enemy's fire." Brigadiers Lawrence and Whitmore followed soon after with the troops under their command, and the Major-General came in the rear fully satisfied with the spirit and the resolution of his troops and with the gallantry of his officers.

The difficulty of this landing is set forth by a spectator in these terms: "It would be an injurious Diminution of the *Glory* of our landing Parties acquired in this hazardous enterprize, not to remark particularly the *Difficulties* they had to surmount. Such a boisterous *Surf* drove on most Parts of the Shore at that time as stove a great number of

their Boats, by which several of the men were so much hurt and bruised, as to be very incapable of helping and taking care of themselves, and some others were crushed to pieces between the boats and the rocks. Most, if not all of those who did land, were obliged to wade through the Great Swell, themselves and their *Arms* much wetted ; and after that, to scramble up such rugged *Rocks* and almost perpendicular *Precipices* as to the wary Enemy's *Engineers* seemed in need of no *Fortification* or Defence, their own steep, rough ascent having been judged beyond the attempt of men under Arms before this *glorious* morning. And to complete the discouraging Scene, they were all the while exposed to the utmost Fury of the Enemy's Fire, and not in a situation of exerting themselves in any Kind of Defence except by *terrifying* the astonished Foe with the resolute Bravery of gaining what had till now been thought an inaccessible Shore, and landing in the most unexpected, one who had not the strongest Proofs of the Fact might say, *incredible Places.*"

As soon as the landing was effected the British attacked the nearest battery to them with great vigor, and soon forced the enemy to retreat therefrom with precipitation. An attack was then made upon the lines, but practically no resistance was offered. The French fearing that they would be cut off from the garrison by Whitmore's troops who had landed on the right, fled to the nearest cover and thence to Louisbourg.

An eye witness of the event again says :—" The enemy fled with great precipitation, and Brigadier Wolfe pursued them almost to the gates of the town, with the light

infantry, rangers, Fraser's Highlanders, and the grenadiers of the 1st, 15th, 17th and 22nd regiments. I can only account for the unsoldier-like behaviour of the enemy on this occasion, by their apprehensions, perhaps, of being cut off from the garrison by some or other of the divisions, whom (sic) they suspected would land elsewhere for that purpose; and of being thereby hemmed in between two fires."

And although another writer, "A Spectator," speaks of the "dastardly panic that appeared to slacken the Enemy's Fire as soon as they saw our men landed," he says further that only three hundred men were left that morning in the garrison, which would surely have fallen into the hands of the British without delay had the retreat of the enemy been cut off.

This unexpected and signal success gave the British possession of the shore all the way to Louisbourg, and deprived the French of their strongest hope of successful resistance.

Had they fought as wisely and as stubbornly as did their compatriots in somewhat similar circumstances under Montcalm at Ticonderoga, the taking of Louisbourg would have been deferred. But in this case the leader was not an Abercrombie with nothing to commend him but his tenacity and courage, but Wolfe, not less courageous, more impetuous, and an infinitely better strategist.

It is interesting, however, to notice that although his contemporaries as well as posterity give Wolfe full credit for the success of the operations on the 8th of June he himself depreciates the attempt, and instead of claiming honour

as he could easily have done, he frankly criticises the whole action. To his friend Rickson, he says :—“ Amongst ourselves, be it said, that our attempt to land where we did was rash and injudicious, our success unexpected (by me) and undeserved. There was no prodigious exertion of courage in the affair ; an officer and thirty men would have made it impossible to get ashore where we did. Our proceedings in other respects were as slow and tedious as this undertaking was ill advised and desperate ; but this for your private information only. We lost time at the siege, still more after the siege, and blundered from the beginning to the end of the campaign.”⁽¹⁾

The success of the British, unexpected by Wolfe, was also a matter of surprise to his future distinguished foe.

On the 26th of June the following record was made in *Moncalm's Journal*. “ News from Louisbourg ; it is besieged ; landing made at Gabarus on the 8th, fatal day to the state (these are the terms of M. Franquet in a letter he has written to me). How could this landing be made without resistance on our part with sixty to sixty six barges only, which would make three thousand five hundred men at most, a barge not holding more than fifty ”. Referring to a sketch, he proceeds, “ Why did not the troops whose duty it was to defend the entrenchments at this point, march, after the first discharge of artillery and musketry, with bayonets fixed, upon the English whom they ought to have destroyed ? Why did not those of the

(1) This letter is given in full in Vol. VI., page 27. See also the reproduction of a part of it amongst the illustrations of this work.

other entrenchments advance also? The misunderstanding between the two divisions, and the cupidity of M. Prévost, who controls M. de Drucour, will lose Louisbourg to the King. I say the cupidity of M. Prévost for this reason; The King's storehouses are behind one of the points of attack; nearly all the goods will then be carried to the shops of individuals; the place will be surrendered sooner in order to secure by capitulation that the inhabitants retain their goods which they may send back to France, or sell to the besiegers.

At the time of the surrender, the Commissary makes an inventory only of what is to be found in the recognized stores of the King, and does not mention the goods scattered through the city, which turn to his profit. This is what M. B.... did in 1745; he induced the inhabitants to petition the commandant to surrender, which the commandant did in consequence, under the pretext that he could not restrain the rebellious inhabitants with so mutinous a garrison. M. Prévost, a pupil of M. Bigot, follows in the footsteps of his master."

Although history and experience combined to justify Montcalm in his suspicions, the perfidy which he feared was imaginary in this case; but his question as to why no resistance was made has not been satisfactorily answered.

The brigades of Wolfe and Lawrence pursued the fleeing enemy for about four miles, until the fugitives were safe within the walls of Louisbourg. Then a fierce cannonade was opened upon the besiegers from the garrison, which General Amherst declared "was so far of use, that it pointed out how near I might encamp to invest it." The

enemy left behind in their flight a large quantity of provisions and ammunition, seventeen pieces of cannon, fourteen large swivels and two mortars. A furnace for red hot balls was left standing, and about seventy prisoners were taken.

These prisoners declared that the chief difficulty in the reduction of Louisbourg was over; that their engineers had assured the Governor of Louisbourg that it was impossible for almost any number of men to land at the place where the landing had actually been made. They spoke of the light infantry, Highlanders, and rangers⁽¹⁾ as the English Savages.

Sir Charles Hardy who had been cruising along the

(1) As the light infantry and the rangers are frequently mentioned in the subsequent pages it may be well to reproduce here a description of them as given in the "Authentic Account", by a Spectator.

"These *Light Infantry* were a Corps of 550 Volunteers chosen as marksmen out of the most active resolute men from all the Battalions of Regulars, dressed some in *blue* some in *green Jackets* and *Drawers*, for the easier brushing through the Woods; with Ruffs of Black Bear's Skin round their necks, the Beard of their upper Lips, some grown into Whiskers, others not so, but all well smutted in that part; with little *round Hats* like several of our Seamen.—Their *Arms* were a Fusil, Cartouche Box of Balls and Flints, and a Powder horn flung over their Shoulders. The Rangers are a body of Irregulars, who have a more cut-throat, savage Appearance; which carries in it something of *natural Savages*; the Appearance of the Light Infantry has more in it of *Artificial Savages*."

In the general orders dated Halifax, May the 12th, 1758, the following appears: "A body of light infantry will be formed from the different corps, to act as irregulars; the regiments, that have been any time in America, are to furnish such as have been most accustomed to the woods, and are good marksmen; and those from Europe are to furnish active marchers, and men that are expert at firing ball; and all in general must be alert, spirited soldiers, able to endure fatigue. Some corps are to give a Lieutenant and forty men, others a Lieutenant and thirty men, except the Highlanders, who are to furnish one hundred."

coast from the beginning of April with his squadron joined Admiral Boscawen in Gabarus Bay on the day of the landing. His men were in a sad state. They were suffering from scurvy, and were obliged to receive assistance to bring their vessels to anchor in the bay. They recovered rapidly when put ashore for a few days.

Notwithstanding the vigilance of Sir Charles, French vessels had passed him in fog, snowstorms and darkness, and had stolen unperceived into Louisbourg harbor, where five or six large ships of the line, besides about an equal number of frigates, eleven in all, now lay.

It became the duty of Sir Charles to block the entrance to the harbor in order, by giving timely warning to the Admiral, to prevent the escape of the enemy's ships.

The chances were entirely in favor of the besiegers, as both parties to the conflict recognized as soon as the preliminary difficulty of landing had been over come. Naturally, the French were anxious to save their ships from falling into the hands of the enemy, and would undoubtedly have taken advantage of the first fair wind and dark night to put to sea. In fact, later in the progress of the siege, June 18th, the frigate L'Echo, thirty-two guns, bound to Quebec with stores and provisions, took advantage of a brisk gale that had blown Sir Charles out to sea, and started for the St. Lawrence. She succeeded, the night being dark and foggy, in passing safely by the British fleet; but being pursued, she was captured and brought back a day or two later.

The frigate L'Arethuse, thirty-six guns, not discouraged by the fate of L'Echo, took her chances on the 15th of

July when similar conditions as to weather prevailed. She escaped the vigilance of the British fleet, but being perceived by the land forces at Lighthouse battery who signaled Sir Charles, she was pursued by several vessels. After a day or two they returned with the report that the fleeing vessel had escaped them.

The rest of the troops on the day following the landing, were brought ashore, and for several days after that the baggage, artillery and stores were landed with great difficulty and with many interruptions, owing to the roughness of the sea. In spite of the best efforts of the seamen many boats swamped, and many were stove by driving upon the rocky shore.

At the same time the troops were employed in cleaning the camp ground, carrying baggage, pitching tents, making themselves secure against incursions that might be expected from parties of Indians and Canadians, or from any parties that might have been cut off from the garrison on the day of the landing.

For many days in succession the daily chronicler of events has nothing to report but the continuous making of roads across the morasses, the erection of redoubts, the placing of batteries, and the construction of approaches towards the gates of the garrison.

An "épaulement," a work for covering the approaches to the town by the Green Hill, was begun about the 23rd of June and continued till completed amidst many difficulties. It was about a quarter of a mile long, about nine feet high, and about sixteen feet broad. The working parties labored cheerfully, and excited the admiration of

their officers by their valorous exertions and by their contempt for the danger to which they were subject by reason of the cannonade which was directed against them and from which they suffered some loss. On this occasion, very noticeable as being one of the first, the army and navy worked together with a harmony and a union of purpose that were productive of the best result, and that showed that the term "united service" is suggestive of an ideal state of affairs. This new departure in the way of co-operation is to be attributed mainly to the fact that the Admiral and the Commander in chief were too large in their conceptions of duty to let petty considerations of etiquette or precedence interfere with their actions. Between them there was no jealousy or friction.

The Admiral, when occasion required, sent ashore at different times 400 marines, or troops who were serving as such, to assist in the work of the batteries.

They were a great relief to the army in the camp, who were much fatigued by their long hours and hard work.

In order that we may not lose sight of the fact that this sketch is for the purpose, primarily, of giving the reader an account of the actions of Wolfe, and secondarily a general view of the siege which made his reputation, we may here dwell more upon his operations.

Not only did he lead the landing party as we have seen, but he was active in all the proceedings which followed.

On the 12th of June the French having dismantled the Grand Battery and called in their outposts, Wolfe was sent to take possession of the Lighthouse Battery with four companies of Grenadiers under command of Lieu-

tenant-Colonel Hale, and twelve hundred men detached from the line. He found this battery deserted by the enemy who had left only two cannon, with their trunnions knocked off, and three eight pounders, two of which they had spiked. Artillery, tools and stores were sent around to him by sea. Upon his arrival at the Lighthouse he sent a paper to the Commander in chief which outlined his preliminary dispositions. However, until the 18th of the month he was unable to make progress owing to the stormy weather.

On that day he issued his orders, and was ready to cannonade and bombard the fleet and the Island Battery on the following evening.

On the 19th he wrote a letter to his chief from which we make extracts :—“ My posts are now so fortified that I can afford you the two companies of Yankees, and the more as they are better for ranging and scouting than either work or vigilance. My whole affair now is the spade and pickaxe and one hundred more pioneers would be of great assistance ”..... “ The excess of rum is bad, but that liquor delivered out in small quantities—half a gill a man, and mixed with water—is a most salutary drink, and the cheapest pay for work that can be given. Mr. Boscawen is a very judicious man, but in this particular he is much in the wrong ; and it proceeds from his confounding the abuse with the use, and sailors with soldiers.” On the following day he wrote again to his chief, and with his letter he enclosed a report from a lieutenant in regard to the drunkenness of some rangers who were with his party.

They were attacked by the enemy, and some who were

killed had New England rum in their pockets. Wolfe says :—"I send you an account of the behaviour of my party at L'Orembeck—I mean the subaltern's—which, I believe, will surprise you. They were, as far as I can find, all drunk and asleep,—sentries, guards, and all. The rum was sold to them by the masters of the ships they went in, whose names you shall have, and who should be made an example of."

Wolfe's chief object at Lighthouse Point was to silence the Island Battery which protected the entrance to Louisbourg harbor. This he accomplished upon the 25th of the month by incessant fire.

Leaving a small detachment of artillery behind him to hold the place, he returned to the grand camp to superintend the formation of an approach to the West Gate of Louisbourg.

On the 26th the British troops took possession of Green Hill, in the night, without any great opposition and with very little loss.

Now that the battery on the Island was disabled, and it was impossible to restore it while the detachment at Lighthouse Point was throwing an occasional shell upon it, the French feared for the security of their fleet within the harbor. They therefore sank four men of war and four merchant-men in the narrow entrance, so that if the British should attempt to force the harbor they could bring in but one ship at a time. On the 30th of June "A Spectator" records the following :

"A very brisk Fire from the *Ships* and *Garrison* was made upon our working Parties. Some Shells were thrown

from the Battery at *Maurepas Point*, and from the *Island* upon the Parties at the *Light-house*—In the Night these Parties worked very briskly in drawing Cannon from the *Light-house*, about the Distance of *two Miles*, over uneven Ground never smoothed into a Road, to their *new* Batteries near the *Grand Battery* to play upon the Frigates and the rest of the *Ships*, and to remove them once more, if possible; That the *Grand Camp* might carry on their Approaches with the greater Security and more Expedition. Some People of the Garrison, to express their Surprize at this and some other Instances of the Suddenness of Brigadier *Wolfe's* Motions from one Place to another, and their Sentiments of the Effect of his Operations, used to say—There is no Certainty where to find him—but, wherever he goes, he carries with him a Mortar in one Pocket and a 24 pounder in the other."

On the first of July a party of about four hundred stole quietly out from the walls of Louisbourg.

Wolfe with one hundred of the light infantry and three hundred, regulars sallied forth and in about a quarter of an hour fell in with the enemy.

A brisk skirmish ensued, lasting about two hours, and resulting in a retreat of the French in good order from hill to hill with the British in pursuit. The latter held their fire, until they came near. Then their fire was so hot that the enemy beat a precipitate retreat within the walls. By this affair the British lost only six or eight men, wounded, while Brigadier Wolfe, having advanced farther, than ever before, never quitted the ground he had thus gained. He had a redoubt thrown up at once to

maintain the farthest point, and in spite of a brisk cannonading from the garrison and the ships he advanced a redan within four hundred yards of the enemy's pickets. This new position greatly facilitated the approaches from the grand camp to the walls of Louisbourg. In these skirmishes, as seen by Wolfe's orders and correspondence, the young brigadier adapted himself quickly to the style of warfare required by the nature of the country. He taught his men to seek cover when exposed to the enemy's fire. At the same time he did not go to the extreme of thinking that cover was the only consideration. Throughout his history he showed an admirable combination of prudence and courage.

After one of the many skirmishes in which he was engaged at this time several of the officers expressed surprise at the agility of his men and the novelty of the tactics. "Wolfe asked one more intelligent than the rest what he thought of it. 'I think I see something here of the history of the Carduchi,' who harassed Xenophon, and hung upon his rear in his retreat over the mountains,' was the reply. 'You are right,' said Wolfe, 'I had it thence; but our friends are astonished at what I have shown them because they have read nothing.'"⁽¹⁾

(1) From Wright, who credits the anecdote to Major James, R.A., in *Military Dictionary*, Article, "Library." Wright's invaluable "Life of Major-General James Wolfe," Chapman and Hall, London, 1864, is the fullest and best biography of that general that has ever been published. The authors are indebted to it especially for extracts from correspondence. Some most important letters of Wolfe have been discovered since 1864, but Wright succeeded in procuring nearly all that were known to exist at the time.

One of the most serious skirmishes was that of the night of July 8, when "the Enemy made a vigorous *Sally* from Cape *Noir* about 11 o'clock upon our advanced and working Parties at the Lines, where Brigadier *Laurence* commanded. The Salliers with a Body of about 900 Men, by the *Darkness* of the Night and the *Silence* of their Motions, were fortunate enough to pass unobserved by some of our *advanced* Parties commanded by Lord *Dundonal*, and to surprize the *working* Parties in the Trenches; who with some Difficulty retreated, as they had not their Arms to defend themselves."

An instance, only one of many which might be given, of the personal bravery of Wolfe and of his willingness not only to go where his men were ordered but to precede them, is given in the following words: "About 7 o'clock this evening, Brigadier Wolfe made himself master of a Post occupied by the Enemy's *Picquets* within about 400 yards of the *West Gate*, where about 100 of their *Volunteers* had secured themselves behind some small *Breast-works* of Sand Bags—He advanced towards this Post with only 8 or 10 men, leaving orders for a sustaining Party to follow him from the *Green-hill*. Upon his approaching the Enemy, they fired some few muskets at him."

On the 21st a disaster befel the French which added to their discouragement. An explosion occurred on board the man of war, "le Célèbre", 64 guns, caused it was supposed by a shell from the lighthouse battery.

The fire which ensued burned with great violence and spread to "L'Entreprenant," 74 guns, and from her to "Le Capricieux," 64 guns.

On the latter there was no explosion, for the seamen threw overboard all the powder before taking to boats to save themselves. When the fire reached the guns they were discharged indiscriminately, a more serious danger to friend than to foe. "Le Prudent" and "Le Bienfaisant," the only two men of war left, warped off to the other end of the harbor to escape destruction.

The besiegers were so near the walls on the 24th that their small arms were fired through the embrasures of the ramparts and drove the gunners from their stations. Deserters reported that the inhabitants of the town were so much distressed that they entreated the Governor, on their knees, to capitulate without delay. They entreated in vain, however. The story, whether true or overdrawn, served to stimulate the besiegers who expected to gain much reputation to close their campaign.

On the 25th an act requiring unusual courage and address was undertaken by the fleet.

The admiral determined to destroy or to take the two French ships remaining in the harbor.

Six hundred sailors favored by a dark night and commanded by Captains Balfour and Laforey boarded "Le Bienfaisant" and "Le Prudent" with little difficulty. The former vessel was towed away, while the other being aground was burned. The gallantry of his action is much praised by "A Spectator," who relates the incidents with much detail. The garrison was now in a very bad condition. For eight days officers and men had been without rest and every day they saw the nearer approach of the enemy while their own defence grew more and more feeble.



Charles Saunders, 2nd Earl of讯,
and Gentleman of Her Majesty's Bedchamber
and a Member of the Royal Society.

Not a spot within the walls was safe even for the sick or wounded. Ammunition was running low and almost any thing of metal was used as a substitute for cannon balls. Wolfe on the 25th reported that if more ammunition and artillery officers were sent early he would breach the walls in the afternoon, and that one of his officers was then within fifty or sixty yards of the glacis. The French fleet was now destroyed and the British might enter the harbor at their convenience and batter the town from another quarter.

Early on the 26th, Governor de Duncour, after holding a council of war wrote to General Amherst offering to capitulate on the same terms that had been accorded to the British at Port Mahon. The Admiral and the Commander in chief who had already agreed upon a formal summons in form of a letter to be sent to the Governor of the Garrison communicated the contents to the French messenger. The Governor was offered no terms but was required to surrender at discretion.

Two hours were given for deliberation.

At the end of this time another officer came from the Governor to remonstrate against the severity of the terms and asking for more favorable conditions. After consultation the British officers agreed to soften the expression "at discretion" into "as prisoners of war," and to add that women and children and such as had not borne arms should be returned to France.

The combattants were to be sent to England. An hour was allowed for the consideration of this final reply. Again the French asked for further modification.

They wished that the prisoners of war should be sent to France on parole of not serving for a time to be specified by the General. When this was refused another hour was asked for deliberation; fifteen minutes were given, with the threat that if the time was exceeded upon any pretext the batteries would be opened upon the garrison again.

In a few moments the terms were accepted, and were shortly put in form, translated and signed.

On the day following the capitulation the soldiers of the garrison laid down their arms with very bad grace. Their surrender notwithstanding the modifications which had been made in the terms of the capitulation was humiliating.

They had, however, little to reproach themselves with after the close of the 8th of June.

The troops had sallied forth whenever possible and shown reasonable courage in the face of a superior force, and the gunners had served the cannon until forty out of a total of fifty-two had been disabled by the enemy. They had suffered in danger and distress whilst shot and shell had whistled about their unprotected heads. Women and children had been huddled together in unsafe casemates sharing the dangers incident to a siege until the walls were breached, houses burned, and the British were ready to storm the town by sea and land. The moral and physical courage implied in such conduct deserved all praise, but did not appeal to the victors as to those unused to war and its horrors. The ever gallant Wolfe whom we must now follow closely in the remainder of this narrative went into Louisbourg to pay his respects to the ladies, but he found them so pale, thin, and shaken by their

long continued anxiety and unrest that he cut his visit short.

On the 21st of April he had been Commanding officer of the 67th regiment which had been formed into an independent corps from the second battalion of the 20th. His letter to his Irish uncle shows his untiring activity and desire for action. Not a moment was to be lost, although one might expect him to wish a few days rest after his severe exertions for seven weeks. The reader is able to judge from the narrative how incessant and how important were his operations, but we may add the testimony of Captain Knox's correspondent who declared that Wolfe had performed "prodigies of valour", and later he says:

" Mr. Amherst has displayed the General in all his proceedings, and our four Brigadiers are justly intitled to great praises ; Mr. Wolfe being the youngest in rank, the most active part of the service fell to his lot ; he is an excellent Officer, of great valour, which has conspicuously appeared in the whole course of this undertaking."

We proceed to give an abstract from his letter to his uncle which is retrospective and prospective at the same time.

" It is impossible to go into any detail of our operations ; they would neither amuse nor instruct, and we are all hurried about our letters. In general, it may be said that we made a rash and ill-advised attempt to land, and by the greatest of good fortune imaginable we succeeded. If we had known the country, and had acted with more vigour, half the garrison at least (for they were all out) must have

fallen into our hands immediately after we landed. Our next operations were exceedingly slow and injudicious, owing partly to the difficulty of landing our stores and artillery, and partly to the ignorance and inexperience of the engineers"....

A day or two later he says in a letter to Captain Amherst, brother of the General, "As I am pretty much resolved not to stay in America more than this campaign, I hope the General will not put me to the necessity of insisting upon the Field-Marshal's promise that I should return at the end of it." The key to his distaste for service in America is to be found in a letter to his father written on the 7th of August. After a panegyric on Lord Howe whom he described as "the noblest Englishman that has appeared in my time, and the best soldier in the army," "the bravest, worthiest, and most intelligent man among us," he proceeds:—

"I am in a kind of doubt whether I go to the continent or not. Abercromby is a heavy man, and Brigadier P... the most detestable dog upon earth, by everybody's account. These two officers hate one another. Now, to serve in an army so circumstanced is not a very pleasing business. If my Lord Howe had lived, I should have been very happy to have received his orders; or if I thought that I could be useful or serviceable, the ugly face of affairs there wouldn't discourage me from attempting it."

Tiring of his work which to him was tame as compared with the excitement of battle, and fearing that winter would come before further operations would be undertaken



James Wolfe
from the painting by Hogarth
in the possession of General Conyngham Esq., Farnborough Regt.

by the Commander in Chief, he asked the latter respectfully what he intended to do. The Commander in Chief replied on the 6th of August :—

“ *La belle saison* will get away indeed; what I most wish to do is to go to Quebec. I have proposed it to the Admiral, who is the best judge whether or no we can get up there, and yesterday he seemed to think it impracticable.”

Perhaps Wolfe saw the advantage of pressing the point upon the attention of his able but rather too cautious chief, for he wrote as follows, in part on the 8th.

“ If the Admiral will not carry us to Quebec, reinforcements should certainly be sent to the continent without losing a moment's time. The companies of Rangers, and the Light Infantry, would be extremely useful at this juncture; whereas here they are perfectly idle, and, like the rest, of no manner of service to the public. If Lawrence has any objection to going I am ready to embark with four or five battalions, and will hasten to the assistance of our countrymen.” “ This d....d French garrison takes up our time and attention, which might be better bestowed upon the interesting affairs of the continent. The transports are ready, and a small convoy would carry a brigade to Boston or New York.”

Amherst replied upon the same day to this energetic epistle and declared that he thought it would be best to go to Quebec at once, if practicable, as he had thought from the first; but he felt that it was advisable since the Ticonderoga affair to send reinforcements to Abercrombie, some regiments to the Bay of Fundy and the rest to the St.

Laurence. At the close of his letter he administers a gentle rebuke while he shows how he values Wolfe's services.

"My wishes are to hasten everything for the good of the service, and I have not the least doubt but Mr. Boscawen will do the same. Whatever schemes you have, or information that you can give, to quicken our motions, your communicating them will be very acceptable, and will be of much more service than your thoughts of quitting the army, which I can by no means agree to, as all my thoughts and wishes are confined at present to pursuing our operations for the good of his Majesty's service, and I know nothing that can tend more to it than your assisting in it."

In a letter to his mother written on the 11th of August he describes the climate of America of which he knew little, of course, except by report; makes remarks upon the social condition of the people, and then proceeds into the region of prophecy.

"This will, some time hence, be a vast empire, the seat of power and learning.

Nature has refused them nothing, and there will grow a people out of our little spot, England, that will fill this vast space, and divide this great portion of the globe with the Spaniards, who are possessed of the other half.... If Abercromby had acted with half as much caution and prudence as General Amherst did, this must have been a dear campaign to the French."

On the 15th of August all the prisoners of war, 349 officers, 3,498 soldiers and seamen fit for duty, 1,790 sick and wounded, 5,637 in all, left for England, and garrison

duty at Louisbourg was practically at an end for the British. Wolfe who had suggested an offensive and destructive warfare in the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Commander in Chief a week before did not at all relish the performance of such duties himself. He did not decline to perform such tasks then, or hesitate to order them in the following year, but they were not to his taste. He says :

" Sir Charles Hardy and I are preparing to rob the fishermen of their nets, and to burn their huts. When that great exploit is at an end (which we reckon will be a month's or five week's work), I return to Louisbourg, and from thence to England, if no orders arrive in the meanwhile that oblige me to stay."

On the 30th of September, about a month later, Wolfe had finished his work along the Gaspé coast and was again in Louisbourg. There he wrote to Amherst who had gone to join the main army. " Your orders," he says, were carried into execution as far as troops, who are limited in their operations by other powers, could carry them. I have made my report to General Abercromby, to which (as it is pretty long) I beg to refer. Our equipment was very improper for the business, and the numbers, unless the squadron had gone up the river, quite unnecessary. We have done a great deal of mischief,—spread the terror of his Majesty's arms through the whole gulf; but have added nothing to the reputation of them."

He closes this letter with the declaration that if Amherst would " attempt to cut up New France by the roots " he could come back with pleasure to assist.

There being no further business for Brigadier Wolfe he soon departed for Halifax with the Admiral, and landed at Portsmouth in the 1st of November. He immediately joined his regiment at Salisbury and asked for leave of absence to go up to London. This he received after a little delay, and at once hastened to pay his filial respects to the aged General and Mrs Wolfe.

His next letter of importance, one of the most important he ever penned judging it by results and not by its brevity, was written to Pitt on the 22nd of November. It reads :—

“ Since my arrival in town, I have been told that your intentions were to have continued me upon the service in America. The condition of my health, and other circumstances, made me desire to return at the end of the campaign ; and by what my Lord Ligonier did me the honour to say, I understood it was to be so. General Amherst saw it in the same light.

I take the freedom to acquaint you that I have no objection to serving in America, and particularly in the river St. Lawrence, if any operations are to be carried on there. The favour I ask is only to be allowed a sufficient time to repair the injury done to my constitution by the long confinement at sea, that I may be the better able to go through the business of the next summer.”

The rest of Wolfe’s life falls naturally into the chapters in the following volumes, beginning with the preparations for the St. Lawrence expedition and ending with his tragic and victorious death on the 13th of September, 1759.

Major General Wolfe. Neptune at Sea. june, 5th 1759.

R E M A R K S .

Whale Boats. <i>of Boats.</i>	Total.	Since the Reduction of Louisbourg.		<i>EXTRAORDINARYS UPON THE VOYAGE.</i>
		<i>Lost.</i>	<i>Recruited.</i>	
....	8	192	4	
....	11	38	14	
....	14	131	51	
....	14	
....	9	404	97	



L^e. J^e. Marquis de Montcalm
by permission of the Marquis de Montcalm.
Gibson d'Uzige par le Vigan Gard France

CHAPTER VII.

MONTCALM.

HIS YOUTH AND EARLY CAMPAIGNS.

WOЛЬFЕ and Montcalm ! Two great generals whose names were associated in life by the momentous struggle in which they were engaged against each other, and for ever associated in death by a common glory, and by the faithful remembrance and fond admiration of posterity.

Wolfe was the invader of New France, Montcalm was her defender. They were the worthy champions of two mighty powers, of two illustrious nations who contended for empire on the shores of the royal St. Lawrence. Both were brave, sincere, disinterested, upright, devoted to their King and flag. They fell upon the same day, upon the same battlefield, and the two strong races who met in deadly conflict on the Plains of Abraham, united in peace after having been opposed in war, have erected to the memory of the Vanquisher and the Vanquished a common monument, which will stand for ever as a symbol of the

era of peace which succeeded the bloody strife of past ages.

*Mortem virtus communem, famam
historia, monumentum posteritas dedit (1)*

In the preceding pages of this work, we have traced the early career and achievements of Wolfe till the moment he appeared before the lofty ramparts of Quebec, and it is now our task to unfold the life and glorious deeds of Montcalm.

Louis-Joseph de Montcalm-Gozon, ⁽²⁾ lord of Saint-Véran, Candiac, Tornemire, Vestric, Saint-Julien d'Arpam, baron de Gabriac, was born in the Château de Candiac, near Nîmes, on the 29th of February 1712. His family belonged originally to the province of Rouergue. The christian names of his father were Louis-Daniel; his mother was Marie-Thérèse-Charlotte de Lauris de Castellane-Dampus. The child was christened in the church of Vauvert, ⁽³⁾ his grandfather on the maternal side, the Marquis de Castellane-Dampus, was his god-father; and his god-mother was his great-grandmother on the same side, Madame de Vaux.

Montcalm's early years were spent at Roquemaure, the residence of Madame de Vaux. As he was not a strong child she did not pay much attention to his studies while he

(1) A monument was erected to Wolfe and Montcalm in 1828, on the spot now designated as "le jardin du Fort" at Quebec, under the auspices of Lord Dalhousie. A committee composed of French and English gentlemen was formed for the purpose. The lines quoted above are inscribed on the memorial.

(2) In 1438, Jean de Montcalm had been wedded to Jeanne de Gozon, grand-niece of the famous knight Deodat de Gozon, grand-master of the illustrious order of Saint-John of Jerusalem. But it was only in 1582 that the Montcalm family assumed the name of Gozon.

(3) The castle of Candiac belonged to the parish of Vauvert.

remained with her. At the age of six he was unable to read, but he was bright and naturally clever, and gave promise of being able to make up for his early deficiencies.

In 1718, his father sent him to Grenoble and placed him under the tuition of Louis Dumas, a learned and renowned professor of that time, who proved an able tutor, although at times he was perhaps too severe and exacting. Montcalm had a retentive memory, and in a few years he became well versed in Latin, Greek and history. It appears, however, that he did not make equal progress in the study of French, or with his caligraphy. Dumas wrote to the Marquis de Montcalm : "I would rather see him ignorant "of Latin and Greek, than know them as he does without "knowing how to read, write, and speak French well."

On another occasion Dumas wrote: "It seems as if his "hand-writing is getting more rough and shocking ; in "vain do I show it and repeat it to him."

For many years Dumas, devoted himself to Montcalm's education, even after the young man had entered the army, for we find that he was giving him instruction in Paris in the year 1728. In his desire that his pupil should attain a high standard of culture, Dumas often appears harsh in his judgment. "When I think of the inaptness and want "of talent of M. de Montcalm, I come to the conclusion "that he must be more docile, painstaking, and inclined "to follow my advice.... What will become of him ?" There was certainly exaggeration in these complaints. Montcalm was a gifted young man, who liked to have his own way at times, but this did not prevent him from acquiring knowledge, or from becoming a scholar. Indeed

he might have made for himself a reputation in the world of letters, had he not chosen the profession of arms.

Montcalm felt his tutor's excessive strictness, and in answer to one of his expressions of dissatisfaction he wrote to his father : " In a few words, here are my aims : 1. To " be an honourable man of good morals, brave and a " Christian. 2. To read in moderation ; to know as much " Greek and Latin as most men of the world ; also the " four rules of arithmetic, and something of history, " geography, and French and Latin Belles-Lettres, as well " as to have a taste for the arts and sciences ; to be fond " of intellectual accuracy, if I do not possess it myself. " 3. And above all, to be obedient, docile, and very " submissive to your orders, and those of my dear mother, " and to defer to the advice of M. Dumas. 4. To fence " and ride as well as my small abilities will permit."

These were noble aims, but his future history proved that his attainments were far greater than his own modest estimation of his capabilities.

M. Dumas had a pupil perhaps more to his taste in the person of a brother of Montcalm, seven years younger, named Jean de Montcalm de Candiac. This boy was remarkable on account of his precocity. When only thirty months old, he had mastered the alphabet ; at the age of three years he could read printed texts and manuscripts in Latin and Greek. At five he could make Latin translations, and at six he could read and translate Greek and Hebrew, and was well versed in all branches of arithmetic. Dumas took him to Paris, where he was regarded as a real phenomenon. These abnormal qualities of his mind were

apparently too great for his physical strength, for Jean de Montcalm died in the French Capital at the age of seven years.

In the meantime the elder Montcalm had entered upon a career in which he was to make his name famous. At the age of fifteen he joined the army as an ensign in the regiment of Hainaut. He took part in the sieges of Kehl and Philipsbourg during the war resulting from the competition of Frederick-Augustus III, Elector of Saxony, and Stanislas Leckzinski, father of Mary, Queen of France, for the throne of Poland. Amidst the cares and duties of camp life, Montcalm found time for study. Writing to his father from Otterbach, near Krayserslautern, in 1733, he said : "I am learning German, and read more Greek, " thanks to my loneliness, than I had done for three or four years."

In 1735, he lost his father who left him a very moderate fortune.

During the following year, upon the advice, and through the kind offices of the marquis de la Fare, a friend of his family, he married Angelique-Louise Talon du Boulay, daughter of the Marquis du Boulay, Colonel of the regiment d'Orleanais, and grand-daughter of the celebrated Denis Talon.⁽¹⁾ She proved a good and loving wife and a devoted mother. Ten children were born of this marriage, of whom two sons and four daughters, were living in 1752.

Montcalm wrote at this time: "May God preserve them

(1) Denis Talon was Attorney-General in the Paris Parliament during the XVII century. Jean Talon, Intendant of New France in 1665, was a member of this family.

" all and make them prosper for this world and the next !
" Perhaps it will be thought that the number is large for
" so moderate a fortune, especially as four of them are
" girls ; but does God ever abandon his children in their
" need ? "

" Aux petits des oiseaux il donne la pâture
Et sa bonté s'étend sur toute la nature."

Montcalm's faith was sincere. The principles of the catholic religion were deeply instilled into his soul by his mother, la Marquise de Saint-Véran, a woman of remarkable intellect, and high moral character.

The Austrian war of succession called Montcalm once more from the peace of domestic life to the turmoil and peril of the battlefield.

His regiment, however, was not ordered to the front. Desiring to signalize himself in some way, he sought permission to accompany the Marquis de la Fare, as aid de camp in Bohemia, in 1741. On the 22nd of July in the same year he was made a knight of Saint Louis.

In 1743, he was appointed Colonel of the regiment d'Auxerrois.

From 1744 to 1748, Montcalm fought in Italy, and distinguished himself on many occasions. On the 16th of June, 1746, he took part in the disastrous battle which was fought under the walls of Piacenza, where the French and Spaniards were badly beaten by the Austrians. Montcalm was foremost in this affray, twice rallied his regiment which was almost annihilated, and received five wounds, of which two were sabre cuts in the head. He was made a prisoner, and allowed to return to France on parole, and

in March, 1747, he was promoted to the rank of brigadier. An exchange of prisoners was soon after effected, and he rejoined the army, took part in another sanguinary encounter in Italy, and was again wounded by a shot in the forehead. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle put an end to this war on the 15th of October, 1748. During these campaigns, Montcalm had been more than once entrusted with commands above his rank as colonel.

Under a royal ordinance, in 1749, many regiments, including Auxerrois, were suppressed, and incorporated in other bodies. In the meantime two new cavalry regiments were created and Montcalm was placed at the head of one of them.

The six years following spent in the midst of his family, were perhaps the happiest years of his life, for he was able to devote himself to his mother and to his wife and children in the peace and quietness of his dear Château de Candiac.

But Montcalm was only forty four years of age, and he had the legitimate ambition to rise in his profession.

Not only did he desire promotion for himself, but also on account of his children, especially his eldest son, a young man of great promise.

He could not anticipate what a mournful and glorious fate awaited him! The minister of War, M. d'Argenson, knew him well, and had formed a high estimate of his abilities.

At the end of the year 1755, being in need of a good general officer to command the French troops in Canada, he broached the subject to Montcalm, who appeared inclined to accept the post if it were offered to him.

For several weeks the matter remained in abeyance, but on the 26th of January, 1756, he received a letter from M. d'Argenson, in which the minister said :

"Perhaps, Monsieur, you did not expect to hear from me again on the subject of the conversation I had with you the day you came to bid me farewell at Paris. Nevertheless I have not forgotten for a moment the suggestion I then made you ; and it is with the greatest pleasure that I announce to you that my views have prevailed. The king has chosen you to command his troops in North America, and will honor you on your departure with the rank of Major-General. But what shall please you more yet, His Majesty will have your place, at the head of your regiment, filled by your own son. This is a promotion a little different from that of captain which you so earnestly wished for him. Pray, lose no time to come here and offer your thanks to the king for his favours and the distinction he has bestowed upon you. The general applause from the public will add to your satisfaction. His Majesty gives you, to command in second, under your orders, M. le chevalier de Lévis,⁽¹⁾ to whom is granted the rank of brigadier, and, as third commanding officer, Mr. de Bourlamaque, with the rank of colonel."

Montcalm was in the South of France when he received this letter. He did not stop a moment but immediately left for Paris. On his way thither he began to read

(1) François, chevalier de Lévis, born in 1723, second lieutenant in 1735, captain in 1737, present at the siege of Prague and at the retreat from Bohemia in 1742, at the battle of Dettingen in 1743, *aide-major-general des logis* in 1747. Was made a brigadier in 1756.

Charlevoix' History of New-France, published ten years before, in order to acquaint himself with the country to which he was going to take charge of the king's army. From Lyons, he wrote to his mother : "I am reading with much pleasure the History of New-France, written by father Charlevoix. He gives a nice description of Quebec." We find in the same letter the following lines : "Mr. le curé de Vauvert has celebrated mass for me, and will do the same every week. That is good." He reached Paris at the end of February, and in one of his letters at this time we catch a glimpse of his personal affairs : "Don't expect any long letter from me before the first of March ; all my business will be done by that time, and I shall begin to breathe again. I have not yet seen the Chevalier de Montcalm (his son). Last night I came from Versailles, and am going back to-morrow. The King gives me twenty-five thousands francs a year, as he did to M. Dieskau, besides twelve thousand for my equipment, which will cost me above a thousand crowns more, but I cannot stop for that. I embrace my dearest and all the family." And a few days later, speaking of his son who had joined him : "He is as thin and delicate as ever, but grows prodigiously tall." On the second of March, Montcalm gives his mother this new piece of information : "My affairs begin to get on. A good part of the baggage went off the day before yesterday in the King's wagons ; an assistant-cook and two livery men yesterday. I have a good cook. Estève, my Secretary, will go on the eighth ; Joseph and Déjean will follow me. To-morrow evening I go to Versailles till Sunday, and will write from there to

Madame de Montcalm (his wife). I have three aides-de-camp ; one of them, Bougainville, a man of parts, pleasant company." On the 15th he writes once more from Paris : " In a few hours I set out for Brest. Yesterday I presented my son, with whom I am well pleased, to all the royal family. I shall have a secretary at Brest, and will write more at length." On the eighteenth he has reached Rennes and writes to his wife : " I arrived, dearest, this morning, and stay here all day. I shall be at Brest on the twenty-first. Everything will be on hand on the twenty-sixth. My son has been here since yesterday for me to coach him and get him a uniform made, in which he will give thanks for his regiment at the same time that I take leave in my embroidered coat. Perhaps I shall leave debts behind. I wait impatiently for the bills. You have my will ; I wish you would get it copied, and send it to me before I sail." (1)

Montcalm arrived at Brest on the 21st of March. He met there Lévis, Bourlamaque and Bougainville, and was much pleased with them. " I like the Chevalier de Lévis," he says, " and I think he likes me." The three aides-de-camp to which he refers in his letter were, MM. de Bougainville, de la Rochebeaucour, who had served as a lieutenant in Montcalm's regiment, and Marcel, a sergeant, who had been given a commission as an officer for this occasion, and was to act as joint secretary.

Two battalions, one from the regiment of La Sarre, and

(1) Quoted from Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, pp. 360, 361, 362. Parkman says of these letters : " No translation can give an idea of the rapid, abrupt, elliptical style of this familiar correspondence."

one from Royal Roussillon, forming together 1200 men, were chosen as reinforcements for Canada, and were ordered to embark on the "Léopard," the "Héros" and the "Illustrer." Montcalm took passage on the "Licorne," Lévis in the "Sauvage," and Bourlamaque in the "Sirène."

Montcalm sailed on the 3rd of April, and the passage was very rough. During Holy Week the "Licorne" encountered a heavy gale which caused sickness amongst the passengers, although Montcalm escaped. The ship came to anchor ten leagues below Quebec thirty eight days after sailing, and was detained there for three days. Being impatient to reach the capital of New France, Montcalm landed at St. Joachim, and proceeded by land to Quebec, sleeping at Chateau Richer on the 12th of May. In the meantime the wind having changed, the "Licorne" and "Héros" entered the port of Quebec on the 13th and Montcalm arrived a few hours later. On the same day he was entertained in a princely manner by M. François Bigot, Intendant of New France. The dinner given in his honour was a magnificent one : forty guests were assembled. "A Parisian," observes Montcalm, "would have been surprised at the profusion of good things which were displayed on the table. Such splendour and good cheer shows that the place (of intendant) is good."

We shall hear again of M. Bigot !

CHAPTER VIII.

MONTCALM'S COMMISSION.

By his commission the Marquis de Montcalm was not vested with the authority of Commander in chief of His Majesty's troops in North America. The Governor General of Canada was to be his superior.

The commission was thus worded :—

"Louis, &c."—Having resolved to send additional troops to Canada, and wishing to provide for the command both of the said reinforcements and of the troops we ordered thither last year, which command is vacant by the detention of Baron de Dieskau, on whom we had conferred it, we have concluded that a better choice could not be made than of our dear and well beloved, the Marquis de Montcalm, Major-General in our armies, considering the proofs he has given us of his valor, experience, capacity, fidelity and affection to our service in the different engagements and other commissions entrusted to his care.

"These and other considerations us moving, we have made constituted, ordained and established and by these presents, signed by our hand, do make, constitute, ordain and establish, the said Marquis de Montcalm, Commander,

under the authority of our Governor-General of said country, of the troops that are to proceed to Canada, and of those at present there, and have given and do give him power to employ them wheresoever need shall be for effecting our intentions ; to make them live in good order, police and discipline, according to our military rules and ordinances ; to cause the same to be kept, maintained and observed inviolable in all places where said troops shall be employed, to authorize the punishment and chastisement of those who shall dare to contravene them ; to see that all the accoutrements which shall have been ordered, be made exactly by those commissioned to that effect, and generally to do and order, as regards said troops, all that he shall judge necessary ; all, as already stated, under the authority of our Governor-General in Canada." (1)

Under this document the Governor's authority was supreme in military matters, and the King's instructions to Montcalm were still more urgent and explicit. " His Majesty has given orders to M. de Vaudreuil, Governor-General of New-France, as to the manner in which the troops and militia in his government are to be employed for the defence of Canada and other purposes ; and as the said Marquis de Montcalm is to command only under this Governor's authority and be his subordinate in all matters, M. de Montcalm shall have only to execute and see that the troops under his command execute all the Governor's orders... Whenever campaign operations will be

(1) *Documents relating to the colonial history of the State of New-York*, Vol. X, *Paris Documents*, p. 394.



Pierre Rigaud
MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL
GOUVERNEUR GÉNÉRAL
DE LA NOUVELLE FRANCE
1692 - 1768

in question, the Governor-General shall have the right to determine them alone without consulting any war council nor giving any previous communication of his plans. But, whether he convenes a war council to devise such operations, whether he be satisfied with a private discussion of the matter with M. le Marquis de Montcalm, or decides alone, M. de Moncalm shall always submit to the orders and instructions of this Governor for the movements of detachments, or for his own direction of expeditions. He shall change nothing in the orders given, unless the Governor-General has granted him leave to do so; or when such changes are unavoidable owing to unforeseen and urgent emergencies, he will immediately inform him of such modifications and of their object. In a word, the Governor-General shall rule and decide all military operations. And M. le Marquis de Montcalm shall have to execute them as prescribed." (1)

These directions were very stringent. On the other hand Montcalm's powers as commander of the troops, were ample, and he was looked upon as the true military leader. Hence a possibility of friction which was soon to become a sad reality.

The Governor-General of Canada was at that moment Pierre-François de Rigaud, Marquis de Vaudreuil, son of the Marquis de Vaudreuil who had been himself Governor of New-France from 1703 to 1725. He was a Canadian, born at Montreal in 1704.⁽¹⁾ He had been a captain in

(1) *Lettres de la Cour de Versailles*,—collection Lévis; pp 40, 41

(1) Benjamin Sulte, *Nouvelles Soirées Canadiennes*, 1888, p. 146.

the *troupes de la marine*, and Governor of Louisiana from 1743 to 1755. His commission as Governor of Canada was dated January 1st 1755, and registered at the Superior Council of Quebec on the 10th of July. Parkman gives a very good summary of Vaudreuil's character in these words : " He had not the force of character which his position demanded, lacked decision in times of crisis ; and though tenacious of authority, was more jealous in asserting than self-reliant in exercising it. One of his traits was a sensitive egotism, which made him forward to proclaim his own part in every success, and to throw on others the burden of every failure. He was facile by nature, and capable of being led by such as had skill and temper for the task." ⁽²⁾

Montcalm, on the other hand was quick in conception, fearless, generous and impulsive, self reliant, and decisive in action.

When Montcalm arrived in Quebec, the Governor general was at Montreal, where he seems to have spent a good deal of time during his administration, he therefore sent a courier to Montreal to inform him of his arrival.

On the 21st of the month he wrote to the Minister of War, M. d'Argenson : " To morrow I proceed to join him (the governor). Everything is in movement for the opening of the campaign. The winter has been less severe than usual. I found it impossible to repair sooner to Montreal, as the rain has rendered the roads impassable, and the winds were contrary. The same reasons have retarded Mr. Doreil's arrival, who is coming to receive the troops, and

(2) Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*, Vol 1, p. 366.

with whom I expect to confer on the way. During my eight days' sojourn, I have taken information respecting a country and a war, in which everything is different to what obtains in Europe, and acquired a knowledge of Quebec and its environs. I shall be in Montreal on Tuesday morning, although I have to travel sixty leagues, partly in a cart, in canoe and in a vehicle peculiar to the country, which seems to have served as a model to the cabriolets of Paris." (1)

Montcalm left Quebec on the 23rd of May and reached Montreal on the 26th. His first meeting with Vaudreuil appears to have been most friendly, for on the 12th of June, the Governor, in a letter to the Minister of war, refers to the circumstance in these words :

" I have experienced a real pleasure, my Lord, in conferring with M. de Montcalm, especially on what relates to the service of the land forces, both in garrison and in the field. I act in concert with him for the incorporation of the recruits into the different corps, and we conform ourselves exactly to the intentions of the King. I have not concealed anything from him of the actual condition of the colony. He is very prepossessing. On my side, I neglect nothing for the maintenance of union and understanding between us, and we shall always agree as to whatever will tend to the good of the service and advantage of the colony."

Evidently, Montcalm had created a favourable impres-

(1) *Paris Documents*, vol. X., p. 399. That vehicle was the canadian calèche.

sion on the Governor. This is somewhat surprising because on the 30th October 1755, Vaudreuil had written a letter to the minister discouraging the appointment of a French general officer to command the troops. He gave expression to his views in these words :

"I must, my Lord, have the honour to represent to you that it is not necessary to have a general officer at the head of these four battalions (La Reine, Languedoc, Guyenne and Béarn)⁽¹⁾; they can be disciplined and exercised without that. War in this country is very different from the wars in Europe. We are obliged to act with great circumspection so as not to leave anything to chance; we have few men, and however small the number we may lose, we feel its effect. However brave the commander of those troops may be, he could not be acquainted with the country, nor perhaps, be willing to receive the advice subalterns may offer; would rely on himself or on ill enlightened counsels, and would not succeed, though he should sacrifice himself. I found my representations on the result of M. de Dieskau's campaign. Besides, I must not conceal from you, my Lord, that the Canadians and Indians would not march with the same confidence under

(1) These four battalions had been sent to Canada in the spring of 1755, with MM. de Vaudreuil and Dieskau; thirteen companies of Bearn, thirteen companies of Guyenne, nine companies of La Reine and nine companies of Languedoc reached Quebec. Four companies of La Reine and four companies of Languedoc were captured by the English on board of "Le Lys." Thirteen companies of La Sarre and thirteen companies of Royal-Roussillon, came to Canada in 1756, with MM. de Montcalm, Lévis and Bourlamaque. Each company was composed of forty soldiers. (Dussieux, *Le Canada sous la Domination française*, p. 131.) Thus the strength of the six battalions was about 2800 soldiers.

the order of a commander of the troops from France as they would under the officers of this colony. I flatter myself that you will approve my representations, the object of which is the good of the service and of this country." (1)

We have seen that the court did not follow the Governor's advice, and instead sent le Marquis de Montcalm as general officer. The minister of war had even written to Vaudreuil that the latter should perhaps be entrusted with the command not only of *les troupes de terre* but also of *les troupes de la marine* and the militia. On that point the Governor was free to exercise his own discretion. He could widen the scope of Montcalm's military jurisdiction or restrict it. His decision was not to be doubted. "The General," he wrote to the Minister, "ought to concern himself with nothing but the command of the troops from France." All these passages are given to show that the words of Vaudreuil towards Montcalm were the more to be appreciated because the writer had some reason to be disappointed at the Major-General's arrival.

On the other hand what were Montcalm's feelings? They seemed sympathetic enough, at first sight. He wrote to M. de Machault, the Minister of Marine: "The Governor-General overwhelms me with politeness; I believe him to be satisfied with my conduct towards him, and I think it convinced him that general officers can be found in France who will study the public good under his orders, without pretension or finesse. He is acquainted with the country; possesses in his hands both authority and means; is at

(1) *Paris Documents*, Vol. X., p. 375.

the head of business ; he it is who must prescribe it ; it is mine to relieve him of the details relative to our troops, in what regards discipline and the execution of his plans." ⁽¹⁾ Montcalm's attitude appears fair, but he was non-committal, and underlying his official deference there is perhaps a trace of scorn. To the minister of war he was more free, and gave expression to his feelings :

" M. de Vaudreuil " said he, " particularly respects the Indians, loves the Canadians, is acquainted with the country has good sense, but is somewhat weak, and I stand very well with him." ⁽²⁾

He does not say anything about Vaudreuil's love for the French, and it would appear that there was a touch of sarcasm in the words " respects the Indians, loves the Canadians."

A few days later he wrote again to M. d'Argenson : " I am on good terms with him, but not in his confidence, which he never give to any body from France. His intentions are good, but he is slow and irresolute. ⁽³⁾

In the various letters from which we have quoted, mention is made of the preparations for the next campaign, and of the measures adopted for the defence of Canada, and we will therefore briefly review the situation of New France at this time.

In 1748, the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle had put an end to the war between France and England, and it was understood that affairs in America would be restored to the con-

(1) Montcalm à M. de Machault, 12 juin 1756.

(2) Montcalm à M. d'Argenson, 12 juin 1756.

(3) Montcalm à M. d'Argenson, 19 juin 1756.

dition that they were in previous to the commencement of hostilities. This peace, however, was only a deception. England was determined to continue to fight, and France was equally determined to check the movements of her powerful rival. It is a curious fact that the signal of the rupture was not given by either of the two governments, but by their colonies, New England and New France. While France and England were officially at peace in Europe, while English ambassadors bowed their respects at Louis' levies and French ambassadors graced the court of St. James', French and English soldiers and colonists were engaged in fierce contests on the banks of Lake George and of the Beautiful River. The fire brand was the Ohio Valley, possession of which was claimed by each country. In the spring of the year 1754, a young lieutenant colonel, twenty-seven years of age, at the head of a body of Virginia militia, crossed the abrupt range of the Alleghanies, and made his way towards the forts of the Ohio where the French had built a stronghold called Fort Duquesne.

The commander of this fort immediately sent a young French officer named Coulon de Jumonville as a *parlementaire*, with a small band of thirty-four men, to deliver to the youthful lieutenant-colonel a mandate intimating that the Virginia force had no right to invade this territory, and that it should retire at once.

At dawn on the 28th of May, Jumonville and his men were surrounded by the American regiment. Their commander gave the word to fire and Jumonville was killed with nine of his companions. When M. de Contrecoeur,

commander of Fort Duquesne, received intelligence of the untimely fate of Jumonville, he sent Coulon de Villiers, brother of the late parlementaire, at the head of six or seven hundred men to pursue the Virginians. Villiers overtook them at their entrenchments which they had named Fort Necessity, and after a deadly fight he forced them to capitulate.

At the foot of the act of capitulation could be read the name of George Washington, lieutenant-colonel in the Virginian militia.

In January, 1755, England sent two regiments to America, and France prepared an armament. A fleet of eighteen ships bearing six battalions of regular troops, sailed for New-France on the 3rd of May. Admiral Boscawen was immediately ordered by the British Government to intercept the vessels.

On the 7th of June, three of the French ships which had been lost in a fog, were surrounded by the British men-of-war. One of the vessels was fortunate enough to escape, but the other two "L'Alcide" and "Le Lys" were captured.

A few weeks after, war was officially declared. General Braddock was sent by the English Government to command the regular troops and the provincial militia, and the French Government placed the Baron de Dieskau at the head of the troops in Canada.

Braddock had been instructed to take Fort Duquesne. His army was composed of two thousand two hundred men. But on his way he was attacked by a body of two hundred and fifty French and six hundred and fifty Indians, and after a fight of four hours, he was completely

routed and killed. This battle known under the name of Monongahéla, was fought on the 9th of July.

Two months later, on the 8th of September 1755, M. de Dieskau encountered almost a similar fate at lake George. He was beaten by the militia of Massachusetts, New-York, Connecticut, New-Hampshire and Rhode Island, commanded by William Johnson, and was made a prisoner on the battle-field, after having received four dangerous wounds. Thus when Montcalm was sent to Canada in the spring of 1756, a great war between the two nations had virtually been in existence for two years, and the frontiers of New France were menaced at almost every point by an enemy whose resources were perhaps fifteen times greater than hers.

De Montréal le 27. aout 1796.

(N° 5-075)

-3-

Madame

Continu's, Madame, à Mme Dider, vos prières luees de
votre sainte Communauté. C'est trop peu tôt pour que j'aurais
fini Chouquen, Il faut aller à Cailloux, J'honorerais bien
le Jeudi prochain dans trois ou quatre jours; J'aurai fini que j'aurai
qui a pris Chouquen pour répondre à Cailloux les
équemis de sa religion, C'est bien au contraire un vrai
prodige. D'autant plus que, J'avoue à M. Perrin
de mes flibles mains, aussi je lui rapporte tout ce que
je vois avec monnaïsance votre Compliment de l'autre
dernière affaire Communauté. J'ay honoré d'être
avec respect

Madame



Dotte très humble et très
obéissante servante

C H A P T E R IX.

MONTCALM AND LEVIS AT CARILLON.—MILITARY FORCE OF CANADA.

THE point of the Canadian frontier which it appeared the English were likely to attack in 1756, was Carillon, or Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain. During the previous autumn, after Dieskau's defeat, the Marquis de Vaudreuil had ordered M. de Lotbiniere, a colonial engineer, to begin a fort at that place. The work was continued early the next year. It was a square construction, with four bastions, defended by a redoubt situated upon a hill which commanded the position. In the early part of June, the batalions of La Reine, and Languedoc with a body of Canadians and Indians, were encamped there.

On the 27th of June, Montcalm and Levis left Montreal and arrived at Carillon on the 3rd of July, and Montcalm remained there until the fifteenth.

In a letter to the Count d'Argenson he gives the following report of his inspection :

"The fort commenced last year, cannot, before a month at the earliest, be in a condition to risk a garrison in it, in case of an untoward event. And moreover, it would be necessary to maintain the same activity that I introduced

there during my visit. The fort consists of pieces of timber in layers, bound together with traverses, the interstices filled in with earth. Such construction is proof against cannon, and in that respect is as good as masonry, and much better than earthen work ; but it is not durable. The site of the fort is well adapted as a first line at the head of Lake Champlain. I should have wished it to be somewhat larger, capable of containing five hundred men, whereas it can accommodate, at most, only three hundred.

" To understand the ground, I took two long walks afoot with Chevalier de Lévis. I am indebted to him for a third, which was necessary to acquire a knowledge of a part called the Mohawk road, of which every one speaks without being acquainted with it. He has been sleeping three days in the woods *au bivouac*. I do not believe there are many superior officers in Europe who are obliged to make such journeys afoot. It would be impossible for me, my Lord, to speak too highly of him to you ; without possessing much genius, he has considerable practical knowledge, good sense, is quick-sighted, and though I had served with him, I could not have believed that he had so much readiness. He has derived profit from his campaigns. His present position is necessarily difficult. I left him fully aware of it as well as of his resources. It may be delicate if we have to contend against an enemy aware of their advantages, and able to attack him with a very superior force. I wished he had at least 3000 good men, exclusive of the Indians who come and go. I left him only 2000, fourteen or fifteen hundred of whom are Regular or Marine forces ; the remainder Militia. About 400

recruits, soldiers or Militia men are on the march to join him. I urge M. de Vaudreuil to augment them still further.”⁽¹⁾

The military force of the colony at this time might be divided as follows :

1. Les troupes de terre, or the regulars from France, the battalions of La Reine, Guyenne, Béarn, Languedoc, La Sarre, and Royal Roussillon. 2. les troupes de la marine ; 3. The militia.

The battalions of La Reine, Guyenne, Béarn and Languedoc had been sent to Canada in 1755 under the baron de Dieskau, but four companies of La Reine, and four companies of Languedoc's regiment had been captured on board the ship “Le Lys”, which reduced the battalions to nine companies each.

At that time the French army, so far as concerns the infantry, consisted of eighty regiments, which was divided into two battalions each, designated as the first and second battalions.

Each battalion was subdivided into thirteen companies, —(twelve companies of fusiliers, of one hundred and forty men, and one company of grenadiers composed of one hundred and forty-five men).⁽²⁾

A great many of these regiments bore the name of a province or part of a province, as Guyenne, Béarn, Languedoc, la Sarre.

(1) Montcalm à d'Argenson, 20 juillet 1756.

(2) Ordonnance du roi, 10 février 1749; *Comme on servait autrefois*, by father Sommervogel, p. 40; *Le Grand Dictionnaire*, under the word *Battalion*; *Lettres de la Cour de Versailles*, p. 26.

The troops despatched to New France in 1755, under Dieskau, were composed of the second battalions of Béarn, La Reine, Languedoc and Guyenne; fifty companies, numbering two thousand and one hundred men. These numbers were diminished by several circumstances. Three hundred and thirty men were captured on board Le Lys, which reduced Dieskau's contingent to seventeen hundred and seventy men. In addition to this, thirty-four men died at sea, fifty-seven died in the hospitals of Canada, and twenty-seven were killed at the battle of Lake George, so that in the spring of 1756,⁽¹⁾ the strength was reduced to sixteen hundred and fifty-two. With the arrival of Montcalm, however the army was augmented by the second battalion of La Sarre, and the second battalion of Royal Roussillon, consisting of one thousand and fifty men. M. le Chevalier de Montreuil, writing after the arrival of the troops made the following recapitulation: La Reine, 327 men; La Sarre, 515; Royal Roussillon, 520; Languedoc, 326; Guyenne, 492; Béarn, 498 = 2678, to which were to be added 156 volunteers and 918 recruits, forming a total of 3,752.

Besides *les troupes de terre* or the battalions selected from the French regiments, there were *les troupes de la marine*, so called not because they belonged to the navy, but on account of their being under the jurisdiction of the Marine department, whilst the battalions of regulars were dealt with by the War department. They had been in existence for about half a century in New France, and

(1) *Paris Documents*, Vol. X., page 417.

they formed a permanent force, being employed in the garrisons and towns, in defending the frontiers of the colony and in maintaining good order within its limits. Many of the officers were of Canadian birth, while some were natives of France, but were closely connected with Canada, either by marriage or by property which they had acquired in the colony. They consisted of thirty companies, of sixty five men each, forming a total of fifteen hundred and fifty soldiers.

The militia of Canada was composed of all the male population from the age of fifteen to fifty. In every parish there was a *Capitaine de la côte*, chosen from amongst the most able and intelligent of the inhabitants, and he was placed at the head of a company which virtually included every man fit for military service.

When requested to do so, the captains were bound to summon and select the number of men required, and lead them to the army. The militia received the same equipment as the other soldiers, and during the period of their service they were fed by the king. They did not however receive any pay, but when called upon to do some *corvées*—namely in the way of conveyances, they were entitled to a remuneration.⁽¹⁾

In 1750, M. Fleury d'Eschambault, agent of *la Compagnie des Indes*, had matured a plan for the better organisation of the militia; which he submitted during the following year to the consideration of the Minister, with the approbation and recommendation of M. de la Jonquière,

Malartic. *Journal des Campagnes au Canada*, p. 38.

then Governor-General. In 1755, M. de Vaudreuil wrote to the Minister of Marine on the subject. He recommended M. d'Eschambault's suggestions, proposing, in the mean time, the creation of a colonel general of Militia, and asking for the nomination of M. d'Eschambault to that post. Speaking of a draft roll presented by that gentleman, he said : "I am sure that if the rolls of the militia were kept with the same order and minuteness, I could instantly form an idea of the forces at my disposal, in any emergency, and adjust my plans accordingly."⁽¹⁾ In 1756 the Militia of Canada numbered about fourteen thousand. But, except at the end of the war, when the final crisis was near at hand, there were never more than four thousand militia men in active service. At the siege of William-Henry, in 1757, two thousand nine hundred and eighty were present.⁽²⁾ After Carillon, in 1758, two thousand four hundred were sent to lake Champlain. Generally they could not be kept in the army during the whole campaign, for after three or four week's service they had to be sent home to gather in the harvest.⁽³⁾

Such was the composition of the troops with which M. de Montcalm was to deal during the coming campaigns.

(1) *Extraits des Archives des Ministères de la Marine et de la Guerre*, Québec 1890, p. 68.

(2) Return of the French army before fort George, called by the English William-Henry, 3rd August 1757.—*Paris Documents*, x p 625.

(3) *Montcalm au Ministre*, 1er septembre, 1858.

CHAPTER X.

THE CHOUAGUEN CAMPAIGN.—VAUDREUIL'S PLANS.

ON the 16th of July 1756, M. de Montcalm left the camp at Carillon under the command of M. de Lévis, and returned to Montreal where a letter from M. de Vaudreuil had re-called him. Since the 27th of June, he had travelled one hundred and fifty leagues, not including his *reconnaisances* towards the Lake Champlain frontier. Two days after his arrival at Montreal, he left for Frontenac, another journey of eighty leagues. The object of this new move is explained by Montcalm himself in a letter to the Minister of War, M. d'Argenson : "The object which has re-called me to Montreal so soon, and causes my departure for Frontenac, is a project that appears to me sufficiently military, if all the details be well combined, and I leave without being assured or convinced of that. It is proposed to proceed with the three battalions of La Sarre, Guyenne and Béarn, stationed at Frontenac and Niagara, and some Canadians who are on shore in the vicinity of Chouaguen, to attempt the siege of that place, or at least to make a diversion. The Marquis de Vaudreuil has issued, during my absence, several orders relative to this expedition, the success of which is of the greatest importance. Our engi-

neers are to reconnoitre the place, and to be prepared to report to me thereupon when I arrive. The commander of the artillery precedes me some days, as well as M. Rigaud de Vaudreuil, brother of the Governor-General, who takes up some Marines, Canadians and Indians to cover, with M. de Villiers' corps, my camp of observation, should I lay siege to the place. I have no need of enlarging on all the difficulties of this expedition, which is in fact undertaken only on the supposition that the enemy has but 1000 men there, and that this movement must withdraw a portion of the force which threatens Carillon. I cannot reach Frontenac before the first of August, it is 80 leagues from here. In order to be successful, we would require secrecy and celerity, which are not the virtues of the Colony. You may be assured, my Lord, that I readily devote myself to this project, and that I count myself as nothing on an occasion of so much interest and which has appeared to me quite pregnant with obstacles to be surmounted. Increased diligence on the part of the enemy may oblige me, on my arrival at Frontenac to renounce this grand project, but we shall have made a diversion.⁽¹⁾"

This letter shows that the project of besieging Chouaguen was due to M. de Vaudreuil. He had been contemplating it since his arrival in Canada. As early as the beginning of July, 1755, he had written to the Minister announcing his intention of overthrowing Chouaguen if possible. "Chouaguen, he said, is the direct cause of all

(1) Montcalm au comte d'Argenson, 20 juillet, 1756. *Paris Documents*, X., p. 432.

the troubles that have overtaken the Colony, and of the vast expense they have occasioned the King. From the destruction of Chouaguen will follow : On the one hand, the perfect attachment of all the Upper country Indians ; on the other, a considerable diminution of the expense the King annually incurs for the Colony." And Vaudreuil never ceased to insist upon the necessity of destroying that powerful centre of English influence. As the celebrated Roman of old, he could have finished all his letters with the stereotyped utterance : *Delenda est Chouaguen.*

True it was that Chouaguen—or Oswego, as the English called it,—was a source of peril and apprehension for New-France. It had been established by the English in 1727, at the confluence of the river Oswego and lake Ontario. At first it was represented simply as a commercial post. But within a few years it had become a fort, where a garrison was stationed, and armed sloops were built and launched on the lake. The French government had often remonstrated with the English against what was deemed an encroachment, but in vain. Chouaguen was so important, so useful for the enemies of New-France, that they were naturally anxious to retain it. From that post they could extend their domination over the lake regions, exercise their influence over the Upper country Indians, ruin the trade of Canada with the West, and at a given moment, cut all communications between that colony and her forts in the Ohio and Mississipi valleys. Therefore, Vaudreuil was acting judiciously when he determined to wrest the place from the grasp of the English.

It appears that Montcalm was not altogether enthu-

siastic over that plan. In his letter to the Minister which we have already mentioned, he enlarges principally on the difficulties and hazard of the enterprise, which to him seemed "pregnant with obstacles." Some days later, writing to M. de Lévis from Frontenac, after having set forth the plan of campaign against Chouaguen, he adds : "If I do nothing of what I explain here, don't be surprised. One has to be rash or a good citizen to risk such an undertaking with an artillery inferior to that of the besieged, less troops, and an awful distress as regards victuals. All this is for you alone."⁽¹⁾ Even after having won the game, contrary to his anticipation, he felt bound to apologize for his victory, achieved against the scientific principles of war. He wrote : "My operations are so strongly against general rules that the audacity of this enterprise would be deemed rashness in Europe: therefore, the only favor I beg from you, my Lord, is to assure His Majesty that, if he ever gives me some command in his armies, as I hope he will, I shall follow very different principles."⁽²⁾ In this we see the classically-trained officer, a little puzzled yet with the strangeness and irregularities of American warfare.

Montcalm's diffidence and doubts at the outset have been noted by some historians. Speaking of the siege of Chouaguen, Garneau says : "Montcalm gave to it only a half-hearted approbation, and had not a great faith in its success." Afterwards the general seemed to have forgotten his former hesitation. In 1758, writing to the minister

(1) Montcalm à Lévis, au fort de Frontenac, le 30 juillet 1759.

(2) Montcalm au Ministre, 28 août 1756, Dussieux, *Le Canada sous la domination française*, p. 155.

about some difficulties with M. de Vaudreuil, he said: " You may, my Lord, assure his Majesty that diversity of opinions will never injure his service, so far as I am concerned. It is to this diverseness of opinions and to the respectful firmness I always infuse into it, that the Chouaguen expedition is due. The Marquis of Vaudreuil, after having desired it, was ready to renounce it, and I encouraged him only by memoirs." ⁽¹⁾ Evidently there was a good deal of forgetfulness in that statement.

We do not write this to underrate Montcalm's value as a military man. Diffidence and caution were natural and not to be censured in a European general assuming command and commencing operations in a new country and under conditions very different from those he had been placed in before. Montcalm was a brave soldier and a skilled commander. His doubts about the soundness of the undertaking did not prevent him from executing it with admirable vigor and effectiveness. Arrived at Montreal from Carillon, on the 19th, he left for Frontenac on the 21st after having conferred with M. de Vaudreuil and received his instructions. On the 27th he was at la Présentation, now Ogdensburg, and met ambassadors from the Five Nations, with whom he held a council. On the 28th he left that place, and arrived at Frontenac on the following day, where he found the battalions of La Sarre and Guyenne. On the same day, a detachment of La Sarre left for the Bay of Niaouré, on the south shore ⁽²⁾

(1) Montcalm au Ministre, 28 juillet 1758.

(2) Now Sacketts Harbour; that place is 45 miles distant from Frontenac, the Kingston of modern times.

of the lake where M. de Villiers and M. de Rigaud were encamped. M. de Villiers had been sent by the governor during the month of May, with six hundred men, to observe the movements of the enemy and strike a blow at them if a favorable occasion presented itself. He had very hot skirmishes with a convoy commanded by lieutenant-colonel Bradstreet. On the 22nd of July, he was joined by M. des Combles, engineer, and four pickets drawn from the battalions of La Sarre, Guyenne and Béarn. With four hundred men he escorted M. des Combles to the neighbourhood of Chouaguen in order to reconnoitre the position. M. de Rigaud, governor of Three-Rivers and brother of the Governor-General, reached Niaouré bay on the 27th with a few hundred men and took command of M. de Villiers' force. They were to act as the vanguard of Montcalm's army.

From the 29th of July to the 4th of August, the General reviewed the troops and made preparations for their departure. On the 5th he left Frontenac ⁽¹⁾ with the first division consisting of the battalions of La Sarre and Guyenne, and reached the bay of Niaouré on the 6th where the second division, composed of the battalion of Béarn, a body of Militia and the artillery, arrived two days after. The first division embarked on one hundred and twenty, and the second division on ninety-nine bateaux. ⁽²⁾ The army numbered about 3200 men ⁽³⁾ of whom fourteen hundred

(1) *Journal de Montcalm*, p. 90.

(2) *Malartic*, p. 69.

(3) *Journal de Montcalm*, p. 90.

and eighty-six were regulars, two hundred Indians, the remainder being Marine troops and Canadians.

Montcalm conducted the operations with the greatest activity and the most indomitable energy. He sent forward immediately M. de Rigaud with all the Indians and about five hundred Canadians with instructions to find a place suitable for the landing of artillery. He followed on the 9th with the first division, and joined the vanguard at a place named *l'Anse-aux-Cabanes*, three leagues from Chouaguen. There he learnt that a cove fit for landing had been found half a league from the enemy's fort. He sent word to the second division urging it to join him at once. On the 10th he sent M. de Rigaud to take possession of the cove, where he arrived himself at eleven o'clock at night. He took no rest, supervised the landing of troops, and at once directed the construction of a four gun battery, near the shore, to protect the landing place. MM. des Combles and Desandrouins, the two engineers, started before dawn with an escort to the vicinity of the fort to reconnoitre its approaches. Unfortunately, on their return, one of the Indians mistook M. des Combles for an Englishmen, in the twilight, and shot him dead.

The defences of Chouaguen or Oswego were composed of three forts. The first one named Ontario was built at the mouth of the river Oswego, on the eastern side. It consisted of a square of thirty toises on each side, the faces of which, broken (*brisées*) in the centre, were flanked by a redent placed at the point of the brisure. It was constructed of pickets 18 inches in diameter, hewn on both sides, well joined together, and 8 to 9 feet above the

ground. The ditch surrounding the fort was 18 feet wide and 8 ft. deep. Loop-holes and embrasures were cut in the pickets on a level with the earth thrown upon the berm and a wooden scaffolding ran all around, so as to admit of firing over the top. There were eight guns and four mortars for double grenades. On the western side of the river, facing the first fort, stood Old fort Chouaguen, also called fort Pepperell. It consisted of a house with machicoulis, and perforated on the ground floor and first story, the walls of which were three feet thick, and surrounded at a distance of three toises by another wall four feet thick and ten high, perforated and flanked by two large square towers. There was likewise a raised work which protected the fort on the land side. Here the English had placed 18 pieces of cannon and 15 mortars and howitzers.⁽¹⁾ The third fort hardly deserved such a designation; it was a poor construction made of pickets, erected beyond Old Chouaguen, on the height commanding that place. It was called Fort George or New Chouaguen.

Montcalm established his camp half a league from Fort Ontario. And on the morning of the 11th August, he directed the opening of a road through the woods for the passage of the artillery. The work was executed in such a rapid manner that within twenty-four hours it was finished. In the mean time the general sent M. de Rigaud with the Canadians and the Indians in the direction of the river, above fort Ontario, in order to invest it. Three armed

(1) *Journal du siège de Chouaguen, Paris Documents, X. p. 457.*

sloops from Chouaguen harbour fired at the French camp, but were silenced by the four gun battery. On the 12th the road was ready, and Béarn having arrived with the artillery, Montcalm strengthened the battery on the beach, and gave orders for the opening of trenches. He put M. de Bourlamaque in command of that work with MM. Desandrouins and Pouchot as engineers. On the morning of that day letters written by Colonel Mercer, commander at Chouaguen, were intercepted by Indian scouts and brought to Montcalm who found therein important information on the numbers and situation of the garrison. At midnight the trench was opened. It was a parallel of 100 toises distant about 90 toises from the fort. On the 13th the erection of batteries was begun ; the enemy opened fire on the works and kept it very briskly until five o'clock, when it ceased entirely. Colonel Mercer had ordered the garrison to evacuate fort Ontario and to join him on the other side of the river at Old Chouaguen. Immediately M. de Montcalm entered the abandoned fort and gave orders for the construction of a battery of twenty guns on a height commanding the river and the two forts on the other side. On the 14th this battery opened fire against the place at 6 o'clock, and M. de Montcalm ordered M. de Rigaud to cross the river at once, with his Canadians and Indians, and cut the enemy's communications between Old Chouaguen and fort George. This move was brilliantly executed. The river was deep and the current rapid. Rigaud and his men "plunged in, some swimming, others wading up to the waist or neck, and reached his destination, without the enemy's fire being able to arrest a single

Canadian or Indian," ⁽¹⁾ At nine o'clock a cannon ball from the french battery killed the English commander, Colonel Mercer. This was the last stroke. The white flag was hoisted soon after and lieutenant-colonel Little-hales who had succeeded the unfortunate Mercer, asked for a capitulation. At eleven the articles were signed, and at one the place was surrendered to Montcalm with its stores, artillery, ammunition, etc. The garrison was made prisoner of war.

The capture of Chouagen was a brilliant achievement, for it had long been a serious menace to New France, and a source of constant apprehension and alarm to the colony. But now Chouagen was no more. ⁽²⁾ The mighty and majestic Ontario had passed to the dominion of France, and from Frontenac to Niagara the lily banner floated proudly over its waters.

These glorious tidings sent a thrill of pride and ardent joy through the whole colony. Montcalm naturally felt elated by his brilliant victory. He wrote to Lévis: "I had left, my dear chevalier, with ten belts and one hundred strings of wampum, few troops, even less artillery, militia men badly armed; but I had a supply of strings. Therefore I am master of the three forts of Chouaguen, which I demolish, of sixteen hundred prisoners, five flags, one hundred guns, three military chests, victuals for two years, six armed sloops, two hundred bateaux, and an astonishing booty made by our Canadians and Indians. All this

(1) *Journal du Siège de Chouaguen, Paris Documents*, x. p. 460.

(2) The forts were destroyed immediately by the French.

costs only thirty men killed and wounded.⁽¹⁾ The expedition will be deemed useful and brilliant by any one who reviews the detail of my operations, and appreciates justly the courage and good will of our french troops. I have never seen such exertions at works accompanied with so much cheerfulness... Since fifteen days, I have gone to bed three times, and it is only yesterday that I have eaten beef given me for charity's sake, because I had neglected myself."⁽²⁾

On the site of his victory, Montcalm whose soul was truly religious, ordered a cross to be erected with these words: *In hoc signo vincunt*, and also a pole bearing the King's arms and the inscription: *Manibus date lilia plenis*. The general, it will be seen, was not only a christian and a soldier, but also a schiolar.

Six days after the fall of Chouaguen the forts were razed to the ground. The army left on the 21st. On the following day Montcalm ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung at the Bay of Niaouré, and on the 23rd, he left Frontenac for Montreal where he arrived the 27th. After meeting Vaudreuil, he proceeded to Carillon to join Lévis and take command of the army on the lake Champlain frontier for the remainder of the campaign. But the enemy made no effort in this direction, and at the end of October, Montcalm returned to Montreal. Within four months he had

(1) Of these six only were killed, and the remainder slightly wounded. The English loss was 150 wounded or killed, including several soldiers who, during the capitulation, fell unfortunately into the hands of the Indians in their attempt to escape through the woods at the time of the capitulation.

(2) *Montcalm à Lévis, au camp de Chouaguen, le 17 août 1756.*

travelled over 1800 miles through woods, rapids and lakes, won a signal victory, captured an army, destroyed three forts, and protected Canada's southern frontiers from invasion.

His name had become famous, and the echo of his praise was heard beyond the sea in the court of Versailles, in Paris and throughout *la douce France* until it reached the lonely hearth of the old château in Languedoc, and caused joy and gratefulness to two loving tender women's hearts to whom the Marquis de Montcalm was everything in the world.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DAWN OF DISCORD.

UNFORTUNATELY, this brilliant campaign which should have renewed the vigour of the colony, marked the commencement of a series of misunderstandings between Vaudreuil and Montcalm which proved so baneful to the colony.

A spirit of rivalry was manifest from the beginning between the regular and colonial troops, which became more injurious after this event, through the part which the governor and the general took in this paltry state of affairs.

On the 20th of August, six days after the fall of Chouaguen, Vaudreuil addressed a letter to the Minister of War which revealed the feelings he entertained towards the regular troops. "The land forces, said he, have displayed their wonted zeal, but the enemy did not afford them an opportunity for operating. The Marquis of Montcalm had, besides, made the most favorable arrangements for his expedition. Our troops, the Canadians and Indians, fought with the courage natural to them. They have all signalized themselves. The good disposition of my brother and of the Colonial officers supplied them with resources

to surmount all obstacles. They have contributed in no small degree to the most brilliant victory which we have achieved." ⁽¹⁾ A few days later he wrote again : " There has been a great deal of talk here ; but I will not do myself the honor of repeating it to you, especially as it relates to myself. I know how to do violence to my self-love. The measures I took assured our victory, in spite of opposition. If I had been less vigilant and firm, Oswego would still be in the hands of the English. I cannot sufficiently congratulate myself on the zeal which my brother and the Canadians and Indians showed on this occasion ; for without them my orders would have been given in vain." ⁽²⁾

This was not a correct representation of facts. The regulars had done their share of the work gallantly. The three engineers MM. des Combles, Desandrouins, and Pouchot were regulars, they rendered most useful services, and one of them was killed. M. de Bourlamaque commanded in the trenches and was wounded. The soldiers picked from the three battalions exposed themselves in the digging, and sustained the enemy's fire for many hours. The battery was served by sixty gunners, of La Sarre, Béarn and Guyenne with fifty men to assist them. ⁽³⁾ After having read almost every report, relation and journal bearing on the Chouaguen expedition, it seems evident that, without the regulars, officers and soldiers, the siege would

(1) Vandrenil à d'Argenson, 20 août 1756.—*Paris Documents*, X. p. 473.

(2) Vandrenil au ministre de la Marine, 1er septembre 1756.—*Partisan, Moncalm and Wolfe*, I. p. 460.

(3) Malartic, p. 73.

have been utterly impossible. This does not appear in Vaudreuil's letter. "Our troops the Canadians and Indians," seem to have done all; "my brother and the colonial officers" have wrought wonders; they "all signified themselves." But the poor regulars have not had "an opportunity"; so, notwithstanding their "wonted zeal," they could do nothing. This was neither just nor generous. And the governor's appreciation of the campaign, if indiscreetly divulged, was calculated to cause jealousy on the part of Montcalm and his lieutenants.

Vaudreuil's letter furnishes an example of Colonial prejudice, but the Minister of war was not left long in doubt as to the opinions of the French officers. On the 28th of August, after Montcalm returned to Montreal, he wrote to the Minister in these words:

"Our land forces acquitted themselves with incredible zeal of all I required of them. Therefore, my Lord, I beseech you to grant me the favors I ask of you for them." Then he turns to the Militia: "I have usefully employed them (the colonial officers) and the Militia of the country, not however, at any works exposed to the enemy's fire. It is a troop knowing neither discipline nor subordination. Within six months I would make grenadiers of them, and now I would carefully abstain from placing much dependence on them as the unfortunate M. de Dieskau did, by having given too much ear to the confident talk of Canadians, who believe themselves in all respects, the first nation in the world. And my respectable Governor-General is a native of the country, was married there, and is everywhere surrounded by relatives."

The aspersions cast upon the Canadians were unjust. They had their failings, but for partisan warfare they were not to be excelled, and it was the duty of the French general to have utilized them according to their abilities.

In the same letter, Montcalm wrote : "The Indians are enraptured of me, and learning that I return to the camp at Carillon, has induced them to march thither. The Canadians are satisfied with me ; their officers esteem me, fear me, and would be well pleased could French men and their general be dispensed with, which would also gratify me. I have deemed it my duty to express myself pleased to the Keeper of the Seals, with all the Colonial troops, and not to appear dissatisfied with anything." ⁽¹⁾ This is the language of Montcalm. Let us hear Vaudreuil : "M. de Montcalm has got so quick a temper that he goes as far as to strike the Canadians. I had urgently recommended him to see that the land officers treat them well ; but how could he keep them in order, if he cannot restrain his own vivacity ? Could a worse example be given..... The Canadians are good-tempered and submissive ; but the Indians are touchy. They have bitterly complained about the high-handed fashion in which M. de Montcalm dealt with them at Chouaguen." ⁽²⁾

Amidst these contradictory utterances and reports it is difficult to ascertain the truth. They show, however, that the breach between the governor and the general was gradually widening. Montcalm was impulsive, but we can

(1) Montcalm à M. le comte d'Argenson, 28 août 1756.

(2) Vaudreuil au comte d'Argenson, Montréal, 23 octobre 1756.

scarcely think that he would resort to striking the Canadians, at least without extraordinary provocation. Further evidence of discord is furnished in a letter written by Montcalm on the first of November :

" The arrangement of our quarters has been subjected to great variations. M. de Vaudreuil had allowed me choice of the battalions. After I left, he changed four battalions, either through ignorance, or to cause me disgust.... Chevalier de Lévis, like me, receives orders and despatches written with inexcusable duplicity yet exposing us to blame in case of failure. This is not by way of complaint, for I write nothing about it to M. de Machault, but communicate to you my critical position, which Chevalier de Lévis has mentioned particularly to his relatives." (1) Nothing could be more unfortunate for the colony than this ill-will between Montcalm and Vaudreuil.

Montcalm was, no doubt, too much inclined to take offence about expressions that were never calculated to wound his feelings. For example, after the fall of Chouaguen, the bishop of Quebec, Mgr. de Pontbriand, issued a *mandement* in which this worthy prelate distributed his encomiums to the rulers of the colony and its brave defenders. In this pastoral letter he praised the Governor, " who had given to operations a general impulse," and who " conjointly with the first Magistrate of the Colony (Bigot) had planned that expedition and put it under the command of an officer distinguished by his name, his rank,

(1) Montcalm au Comte d'Argenson, 1er Novembre 1756.—*Paris Documents*, x. p. 490,

his authority and genius." He spoke of M. de Rigaud, the commander of the vanguard as "one of our governors whom you justly respect and love." He went on to say that "the Canadians, the troops from France and from the Colony, even the Indians had rivalled in zeal for their country and his Majesty's service." In another part he alluded to the "weak minds" who had considered at first the enterprise "as too great for our strength." He closed his letter in ordering a *Te Deum* to be solemnly sung through all the diocese. Montcalm felt aggrieved at this *Mandement*.⁽¹⁾ Apparently he considered that his personal share in the glorious deed was not sufficiently extolled, and that he was not sufficiently pointed out as the victorious general, but rather confounded in the uniform praise given to the whole army. Perhaps he thought too much was made of M. de Vaudreuil's direction in military matters.

It may have been because the Canadians were mentioned first in the enumeration of the troops, or possibly that he regarded the expression "weak minds" as applied to himself, which was surely not the intention of the Bishop. Whatever may have been the cause, he was annoyed, and on the 27th of August, he wrote to Lévis, saying: "Our friend the Bishop has just issued the most ridiculous *mandement* in the world, but don't mention it for it draws forth the admiration of the whole of Canada.⁽²⁾ It is much to be regretted that such an intelligent man, such a noble character, should have been so suspicious !

(1) *Mandements des évêques de Québec, II, p. 10.*

(2) *Lettres de Montcalm au Chevalier de Lévis, p. 36.*

The first part of the winter of 1756-57 was uneventful. Montcalm was at Montreal with Vaudreuil and Lévis. Bourlamaque was at Quebec. On the 31st of December, the Governor and M. de Lévis left for that city,⁽¹⁾ and Montcalm himself made a short trip to the capital in January. We find in his *Journal* some interesting details of the life that was led there by the high officials and the leaders of society: "I left for Quebec on the third, says he. M. l'Intendant lives there in grandeur, and has given two fine balls where I have seen over eighty ladies or *demoiselles* very amiable, and elegantly dressed. I think Quebec is a town of very good style, and I don't believe that we have in France more than a dozen cities that could rank higher as regards society. As for numbers the population is not more than twelve thousand. The strong taste of M. l'Intendant for gambling, the extreme complaisance of M. de Vaudreuil, and the regard that I must show for two men vested with the King's authority, have caused gambling of the most dangerous kind to take place. Many officers will bitterly feel it before long." This is the first intimation that we find in Montcalm's writings of a state of affairs which grew worse and worse until the final crisis.

M. de Vaudreuil was taken ill at Three Rivers as he was proceeding to Montreal, and for some days he was in great danger. The news reached Quebec on the 28th of January. Thereupon the bishop recommended the governor to the prayers of the faithful, ordered the Holy Sacrament to be exposed in the Cathedral and a procession

(1) They spent there the greater part of January.

to be made for his recovery. Montcalm mentions this circumstance in his *Journal* and makes this reflexion: "People who are uninformed have been very uneasy and disturbed as to what would become of the Colony, in the event of M. de Vaudreuil's death."

On the third of February Montcalm was again in Montreal, where M. de Vaudreuil arrived on the 14th, having now fairly recovered.⁽¹⁾ He at once busied himself with the organisation of an enterprise against William-Henry. The governor thought it possible to surprise the fort in winter and storm it by means of a strong detachment composed principally of Canadians and Indians. Montcalm, who was not informed of the project until the last moment, did not approve of it. His opinion is recorded in his *Journal*: "This detachment," says he, "seems to have been decided upon in a spirit of prejudice, of intrigue and jealousy against the land troops. Notwithstanding M. de Montcalm's repeated remonstrance, it has not been deemed advisable to employ in it the superior officers or the engineer of the regulars. Its object does not appear definite and safe enough to warrant the great expense and fatigue that will follow, and the consumption of victuals, when they are scarce, may cause the ruin of this colony if Milord Loudon moves early. All this has been told to M. le Marquis de Vaudreuil, but he thinks of nothing else than to give a big detachment to his brother, and he relies for success upon M. Dumas' intelligence, and the luck and

(1) Montcalm writes in his *Journal*: "Le Marquis de Vaudreuil is arrived well enough and able to work as much as before, that is to say little." *Journal de Montcalm*, p. 153.



Monsieur de Bougainville
From the painting in the collection of Monsieur le Comte de Beauvau, Paris.

miracles which have heretofore preserved Canada in spite of the endless faults that have been committed. This detachment will cost at the least two hundred thousand écus and according to many people, one million of francs, which would not be surprising owing to bad administration and to the habit of enriching private individuals at the King's expense." (1)

Montcalm asked the governor to place M. de Lévis or M. de Bourlamaque at the head of the detachment; but he refused. He offered to go himself as far as Carillon in order to direct the enterprise, and met the same answer. At last a long explanation took place between the two leaders. "I spoke to the governor," says Montcalm, frankly and firmly, without naming any one of those who very likely busy themselves with destroying his confidence in me, hoping thus to win his trust. I told him how necessary it was that I should communicate to him my reflexions and opinions, adding that, in the mean time, he would always find me disposed to help him and to make his plans succeed, even when his opinion, which is bound to prevail, should differ from mine; that the confidence placed in me

(1) *Journal de Montcalm*, p. 152.—It should be remarked here that the publication known as *Montcalm's Journal* contains numerous parts of which Montcalm is not the author. Montcalm's Journal is very often nothing more than the Journal of Bougainville. For example, the narration of the William-Henry Campaign is entirely the work of Bougainville. A close study of Bougainville's own Journal shows, it appears, that it is a duplicate of the Journal of Montcalm, or the latter is a duplicate of his. So it would be very hard to say positively whether in such or such a passage we have Montcalm's words and judgments or Bougainville's. See on that important point, an interesting note of M. de Kérallain in the bibliographical part of the present work, published in the sixth volume.

by the Keeper of the Seals induced me to hope he would impart his plans to me sooner. I told him also that he should not be surprised if I had shown some warmth in offering your services and mine; that I approved of his choice, but that I owed it to myself and to you to remove any doubt as to your zeal." (1) All this is additional evidence that relations were already strained between the governor and the general.

M. de Rigaud's expedition was partly successful. He did not storm William Henry, the garrison being on its guard, but he burnt four brigantines, two long-boats, three hundred and fifty bateaux, a carriage, a saw-mill, sheds and magazines enclosed by a stockaded fort, and an immense supply of firewood. At the end of March he had returned to Montreal.

Notwithstanding the unsettled state of affairs at this time, the winter months were shortened by festivities and pleasant entertainments in military and official circles. Montcalm chronicled them for Bourlamaque and his dear ones at Candiac. To Bourlamaque he wrote: "On Wednesday there was an Assembly at Madame Varin's; on Friday the Chevalier de Lévis gave a ball. He invited sixty-five ladies, and got only thirty, with a great crowd of men. Rooms well lighted, excellent order, excellent service, plenty of refreshments of every sort all through the night; and the company stayed till seven in the morning. As for me, I went to bed early. I had that day

(1) Montcalm à Bourlamaque.—Montréal, le 20 février 1757.—*Lettres de Bourlamaque*, p. 144.

eight ladies at a supper given to Madame Varin. Tomorrow I shall have half-a-dozen at another supper, given to I don't know whom, but incline to think it will be La Roche Beaucour. The gallant Chevalier is to give us still another ball." (1)

Montcalm's correspondence with his family was also very active. He sent letters as often as he could. They were full of tender effusions: "Think of me affectionately," he wrote to his wife; "give love to my girls. I hope next year I may be with you all. I love you tenderly, dearest." And another time: "There is not an hour in the day when I do not think of you, my mother and my children." He gives his family a sketch of his life in Canada: "I must live creditably, and so I do; sixteen persons at table every day. Once a fortnight I dine with the Governor-General and with Chevalier de Lévis, who lives well too. He has given three grand balls. As for me, up to Lent I gave, besides dinners, great suppers, with ladies, three times a week. They lasted till two in the morning; and then there was dancing, to which company came uninvited, but sure of a welcome from those who had been at supper. It is very expensive, not very amusing, and often tedious. At Quebec, where we spent a month, I gave receptions or parties, often at the Intendant's house. I like my gallant Chevalier de Lévis very much. Bourlamaque was a good choice; he is steady and cool, with good parts. Bougainville has talent, a warm head, and a warm heart; he will ripen in time. Write to Madame Cormier that I like her

(1) Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, p. 457.

husband ; he is perfectly well, and as impatient for peace as I am. Love to my daughters, and all affection and respect to my mother. I live only in the hope of joining you all again. Nevertheless, Montreal is as good a place as Alais even in time of peace, and better now, because the Government is here ; for the Marquis de Vaudreuil, like me, spent only a month at Quebec. As for Quebec, it is as good as the best cities of France, except ten or so. Clear sky, bright sun ; neither spring nor autumn, only summer and winter. July, August, and September, hot as in Languedoc : winter insupportable ; one must keep always indoors. The ladies *spirituelles, galantes, dévotes.* Gambling at Quebec, dancing and conversation at Montreal. My friends, the Indians, who are often unbearable, and whom I treat with perfect tranquillity and patience, are fond of me. If I were not a sort of General, though very subordinate to the Governor, I could gossip about the plans of the campaign, which, it is likely, will begin on the tenth or fifteenth of May. I worked at the plan of the last affair (*Rigaud's expedition to Fort William-Henry*), which might have turned out better, though good as it was. I wanted only eight hundred men. If I had had my way, Monsieur de Lévis or de Bougainville would have had charge of it. However, the thing was all right, and in good hands. The Governor, who is extremely civil to me, gave it to his brother ; he thought him more used to winter marches. Adieu, my heart ; I adore and love you ! ”⁽¹⁾

Montcalm's letters give a good idea of the intellect and

(1) Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, p. 455.

character of their author. They are rapid, sometimes abrupt, full of brilliant flashes of thought and expression, often sarcastic, now and then eloquent, and always interesting.



James Ryall, Jr.

Madame d'Orléans de Bougainville.

From the painting in the possession of Madame de Saint-Sauveur Bougainville, France.

CHAPTER XII.

WILLIAM HENRY.—PREPARATIONS FOR ITS SIEGE.— THE SURRENDER.

THE efforts of New France during the campaign of 1757 were directed against William Henry or Fort George. This fort was built near the shore of lake George, called by the French St-Sacrement. It was "an irregular bastioned square, formed by embankments of gravel surmounted by a rampart of heavy logs, laid in tiers crossed one upon another, the interstices filled with earth. The lake protected it on the north, the marsh on the east, and ditches with chevaux-de-frise on the south and west. Seventeen cannons, great and small, besides several mortars were mounted upon it." (1) Fort William Henry was regarded as a permanent danger to Canada. From it detachments were sent against the borders of lake Champlain, and under its walls were prepared expeditions against Carillon, Fort St-Frédéric and the southern frontier of the colony. There, if possible, should be struck a blow as destructive as that which had shattered Oswego a year before.

Early in the spring preparations were begun. The

(1) Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, I, p. 495.

reinforcements expected from France had not arrived but Vaudreuil and Montcalm did their best with such resources as they had at their disposal. A camp was formed at Carillon during the month of May under the command of Bourlamaque. On the 4th of July M. de Lévis left St-John, with four battalions, for that fort where he arrived on the 7th. On the 9th M. de Montcalm went to pay a visit to the Indians at the Lake of Two-Mountains, and, the day after, at Sault St-Louis; he chanted the war song a "long and tedious ceremony" and on the 12th he left Montreal for Carillon where he made in conjunction with MM. de Lévis and Bourlamaque, the final dispositions for the opening of the campaign. The whole force intended to lay siege to William Henry did not assemble until the last days of July. It consisted of the six battalions of regulars, La Reine, Languedoc, La Sarre, Guyenne, Royal-Roussillon, and Béarn, divided into three brigades, with a detachment of marines, amounting to three thousand and eighty-one men. The militia, composed of seven brigades, numbered two thousand nine hundred and forty six; the artillery, one hundred and eighty eight, and the Indians one thousand eight hundred and six, forming a total of eight thousand and twenty-one men.⁽¹⁾

On the 30th of July all the preparations were complete. Montcalm divided his forces into two bodies, placing one division under the command of Lévis which was to proceed by way of land on the north west shore of the lake, and

(1) Bougainville à M. de Paulmy, 19 août 1756.—*Paris Documents*, X, p. 607.

the other was to embark on bateaux. The Lévis detachment composed of nearly 3,000 men, regulars, marine, militia and Indians, began its march on the 30th at day break. On the 1st of August, the main division, commanded by Montcalm himself, embarked on 250 bateaux. On the 2nd the two divisions met at the bay of Ganaouské, at two o'clock in the morning. At noon the army moved again, one division on land, the other on water. The landing place was reached at night, one league from Fort George. On the 3rd all the troops landed. M. de Lévis marched towards the Lydius or Fort Edward road, in order to stop possible reinforcements coming from General Webb's army stationed at that fort, which was only fourteen miles distant from the lake. The main body followed in three divisions, M. de Montcalm in the centre, M. de Rigaud on the right and M. de Bourlamaque on the left. The siege was begun on the 4th. M. de Bourlamaque was put in charge of the works, with MM. Desandrouins and de Lotbinière as engineers. The trench was opened during the night and pushed with great vigor. M. de Montcalm had made his dispositions so well that with a comparatively small army for such an undertaking, he had virtually invested the place and was ready to meet any force coming to its rescue. On the sixth, the first battery began to play on the walls of William Henry. The day before, Indian scouts had brought to Montcalm a letter taken from the body of an English courier killed by them on his way from Lydius to William Henry. This letter was addressed by General Webb's aide-de-camp to the commander of the fort, intimating that the general did not deem it advisable

in his present position, to try to join him, or to send reinforcements before having been reinforced himself by the provincial troops. He advised the general to make the best conditions possible in the event of his not receiving aid in due time.

When the battery began to fire on the morning of the 6th, Montcalm thought it a favourable opportunity to send this letter to the commander of fort William Henry.

The commanding officer was the valiant Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, a Scotch veteran. The force under his orders numbered two thousand two hundred men. General Webb was at Fort Edward, with three thousand six hundred soldiers and could muster "by stripping all the forts below" four thousand five hundred. But he did not move.

On the 7th Montcalm received a list of favours bestowed on the French troops; he was honoured with the red ribbon.⁽¹⁾ This news created great enthusiasm in the French army and the General was complimented on every side, even by his savage allies, who stated that they were delighted at the distinction bestowed on their Father by the grand Ononthio.

The second battery of eleven guns had opened fire on the morning of this day. The havoc wrought by the French artillery was dreadful. The walls were partly breached, and the English guns were disabled. Lieutenant-Colonel Munro had lost three hundred men, killed or wounded, since the beginning of the siege. And, worst of all, small-pox broke out in the fort. In such a desperate

(1) Knight commander of the order of St. Louis.

situation, Munro and his staff, after having held a council of war, decided to surrender. On the 9th of August, at nine o'clock in the morning, the white flag was hoisted on the shaken ramparts of William Henry, and an officer was sent to propose terms of capitulation. Montcalm, "after having agreed with him on the principal points, notified him that he could not pledge his word to any of them before the Indians had accepted them, for which purpose he forthwith called a general council at which he explained the conditions upon which the English were offering to surrender, and those he was prepared to grant them. He demanded of the chiefs their consent and whether they could answer for their young men not violating the terms. The chiefs unanimously assured him that they would approve all he would do, and would prevent their young men committing any disorder."⁽¹⁾ That Montcalm's apprehensions were well founded was soon to be seen. The articles of capitulation were, in brief, the following : the troops of the garrison were to march out with their arms and other honours of war, and were pledged not to serve against France for eighteen months ; all the artillery, stores, and provisions were to be delivered to the French ; all the sick and wounded not in a condition to be removed to Fort Edward, were to remain under the protection of Montcalm. The garrison of Fort William Henry was to be escorted to Fort Edward by a detachment of French troops ; all French prisoners captured in America since the begin-

(1) Lettre de M. de Bougainville au ministre, Montréal 19 août 1757.
Paris Documents, X, p. 614.

ning of the war were to be given up within three months. These articles were signed by Montcalm and Munro at noon, on the 9th of August 1757.

We have now to record one of the most tragic episodes in the stirring annals of these times. The "Massacre of William Henry" has been the subject of many a page of vivid description. Fiction and history have found in it a fruitful source of romantic pictures and pathetic narrations. It has sometimes added fuel to national prejudices and social hatred. But we earnestly hope that truth and justice have conquered at last, and that fairness of appreciation have now succeeded the angry feelings and passionate misrepresentations occasioned by the dreadful events which took place on the shores of lake George on the 10th of August 1757.

The surrendered garrison was to leave that morning under escort. During the preceding afternoon, Montcalm had given strict orders that the Indians were not to be allowed to touch intoxicating liquors, well knowing that they became little better than wild beasts under its influence. Unfortunately they obtained some from the English, who thought that they could propitiate these blood thirsty warriors in this manner.

Alas! it was pouring oil on the unholy fire already kindled in the savage breast. As soon as the English column had left the entrenched camp from which it was to march towards Fort Edward, the intoxicated Indians, infuriated by the presence of what they considered a vanishing prey began to plunder, and soon to massacre the retreating garrison. They respected nothing; neither age

nor sex stopped their murderous rage. It was a scene of horror never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it while they were powerless to oppose it.

When this horrible deed began, Montcalm, Lévis and Bourlamaque were in their quarters, not suspecting what was taking place at the entrenched camp. As soon as they heard of it they rushed to the rescue of the unfortunate garrison. "Interpreters, officers, priests, Canadians, all were called to help, and every one made strenuous efforts to save the English from their assailants. But the latter, drunk with blood and homicide, would listen to no one. Many of them killed their prisoners rather than let them go. A great number dragged them into their canoes and vanished on the lake. M. de Montcalm driven to despair, seeing how little he could control the Indians, shouted : "Since you are rebel children, and refuse to keep the pledge you have given to your Father and to hear his voice, kill him first of all." These extraordinary and passionate utterances seem to have calmed them a little ; they said : "Our Father is displeased." "But great harm had been done."⁽¹⁾"

The number of English killed in this treacherous affair is not an easy thing to ascertain. Lévis says there were about fifty : "There were about fifty scalps, and three hundred prisoners, of whom a certain number were delivered in to M. de Montcalm's hands the day after ; and those who were brought to Montreal were redeemed by M. de

(1) *Le maréchal de camp Desandrouins*, par l'abbé Gabriel, Verdun, 1887, p. 109.

Vaudreuil at a very heavy price and sent to Boston." ⁽¹⁾ Father Roubaud, an eye-witness, says that forty or fifty dead could be seen on the theatre of this cruel butchery. ⁽²⁾ As for the prisoners, out of six hundred, Montcalm was happy enough to recover over four hundred ⁽³⁾ whom he treated with the greatest fairness and generosity and sent to Fort Edward on the 15th. Amongst those who were brought in by the Indians, many were slaughtered and—*horribile dictu*—eaten by these monstrosities. And again, after reaching Montreal, in a moment of renewed frenzy they killed one of these unfortunate prisoners, and treated him in the same manner even forcing his compatriots to partake with them at this disgusting feast. Nothing could be done to prevent these fiends. The governor had only a handful of troops, and had to exercise prudence to avoid greater disasters. He exerted himself to redeem the captives and seems to have succeeded. He states in a letter to the minister: "I have redeemed all the English, not only those of the capitulation of Fort George, but also those who have been captured in the fight on lake St. Sacrement on the 24th of July.... I have just equipped a vessel and sent them to Halifax with Captain Fesch."

To any unprejudiced student of history it is perfectly clear that Montcalm could not be held responsible for this tragedy. Nevertheless he has been accused. In a book entitled "*Travels through the interior parts of North-*

(1) *Journal des campagnes du Chevalier de Lévis*, p. 102.

(2) *Lettres édifiantes*.

(3) Lettre de Montcalm à Lord Loudon. *Paris Documents*, X. p. 619.

America," Jonathan Carver, captain of a company of provincial troops at William Henry, has drawn a highly coloured picture of this dreadful event. He says that 1500 English were killed, which is not in accordance with facts and speaks of Montcalm's "unprovoked cruelty," which, he adds, was not approved by the majority of his compatriots.⁽¹⁾ A celebrated and brilliant novelist, Fenimore Cooper, writes in the same reckless manner in his well known book : *The last of the Mohicans*: "The cruel work was still unchecked. On every side the captured were flying before their relentless persecutors, while the armed columns of the Christian king stood fast in an apathy which has never been explained, and which has left an immovable blot on the otherwise fair escutcheon of their leader. Nor was the sword of death stayed until cupidity got the mastery of revenge. Then, indeed, the shrieks of the wounded and the yells of their murderers grew less frequent, until, finally, the cries of horror were lost to their ear, or were drowned in the loud, long, and piercing whoops of the triumphant Savages. (The accounts of the number who fell in this unhappy affair, vary between five and fifteen hundred).

"The bloody and inhuman scene is conspicuous in the pages of colonial history, by the merited title of "The Massacre of William Henry." It so far deepened the stain which a previous and very similar event had left upon the reputation of the French commander, that it was not

(1) *Travels through the interior parts of North-America*, by Jonathan Carver, etc., Dublin, 1759, pp. 295 and following.

entirely erased by his early and glorious death. It is now becoming obscured by time; and thousands, who know that Montcalm died like a hero on the plains of Abraham, have yet to learn how much he was deficient in that moral courage without which no man can be truly great. Pages might be written to prove, from this illustrious example, the defects of human excellence; to show how easy it is for generous sentiments, high courtesy, and chivalrous courage, to lose their influence beneath the chilling blight of selfishness, and to exhibit to the world a man who was great in all the minor attributes of character, but who was found wanting when it became necessary to prove how much principle is superior to policy. But the task would exceed our prerogatives; and, as history, like love, is so apt to surround her heroes with an imaginary brightness, it is probable that Louis de Saint Véran will be viewed by posterity only as the gallant defender of his country, while his cruel apathy on the shores of the Oswego and of the Horican will be forgotten."

Nothing could be more unjust than these lines. Montcalm had his faults, but he certainly did not lack moral courage. His conduct on the 10th of August 1757 was worthy of his reputation and of his high station. He exposed his own life to save that of the English captives. Another American writer, Bancroft, is more fair. In his History of the United States, he writes: "Montcalm had kept from the Savages all intoxicating drinks, but they solicited and obtained them of the English, and all night long they were wild with dances, and songs and revelry. The Abenakis of Acadia excited the angry passions of other tribes, by

recalling the sorrows they had suffered from English perfidy and English power. At daybreak, they gathered round the intrenchments, and, as the terrified English soldiers filed off, began to plunder them, and incited one another to swing the tomahawk recklessly. Twenty, perhaps even thirty, persons were massacred, while very many were made prisoners. Officers and soldiers, stripped of every thing, fled to the woods, to the fort, to the tents of the French. To arrest the disorder, De Lévis plunged into the tumult daring death a thousand times. French officers received wounds in rescuing the captives, and stood at their tents as sentries over those they had recovered. "Kill me," cried Montcalm using prayers, and menaces, and promises; "but spare the English, who are under my protection;" and he urged the troops to defend themselves."⁽¹⁾

We have only to consult original documents to find ample evidence that Montcalm's glory was not tarnished by the mournful events of William Henry.

During the following days the French general employed 1500 men in the demolition of the fort and in burning all the buildings. On the 16th the work of destruction was finished, and the victorious army left the spot of its great achievements. Peace, silence, and death, reigned on the picturesque shores where a few days before thousands of brave men had toiled, fought and suffered for their King and country.

Montcalm left Carillon on the 29th of August and reached Montreal on the 1st of September.

(1) *History of the United States* by George Bancroft, Vol. IV., p. 265.

C H A P T E R XIII.

AFTER THE VICTORY.

MONTCALM was returning once more crowned with the laurels of victory. But notwithstanding the natural satisfaction he derived from his military success, his heart was full of sadness, and his mind was burdened with anxieties. He was not pleased with the situation of Canada. He felt the falseness, or what he deemed the falseness of the position, and suffered from many a thorn which, without being perhaps much apparent, was not the less sharp. We have had an insight of his condition in a preceding chapter, and we will now take a closer view.

Before leaving for the William Henry campaign, he wrote to M. de Moras, the new minister of Marine, who had succeeded M. de Machault, a long, confidential and important letter, in which he revealed his inmost feelings. "My commission," said he, "is a delicate one; I am very subordinate and must be so in comparison with the Intendant, a man of genius and intelligence. I have only to congratulate myself on the circumstance. With the General no one will ever perceive that I have to complain, and the service will always proceed as well as 'twill be in my power. He is a kind man, mild, with no character of

his own, surrounded by men who seek to destroy all confidence he might have in the General of the land forces ; I am extolled overmuch in order to excite his jealousy, foster Canadian prejudice, and to oblige him not to deal openly with me, and not to adopt my ideas except of necessity.

" I dare say my conduct has always been as uniform as it has been respectful. You, my Lord, alone can apply a remedy, without in any wise changing a strict subordination which is necessary, by writing in such a manner as to inspire confidence, to manifest some esteem for me, and to desire that my opinions as regards military operations, may be somewhat listened to. This would at once determine my influence in this country.

" What would be at the same time necessary, would be a sealed letter, to be opened only in case of the Marquis de Vaudreuil's death, wherein I should find an order to assume the command of the Colony, and of all the troops until you had nominated a Governor-General.

" The contingency had been near occurring this winter ; the Marquis de Vaudreuil having been very ill. The public mind was agitated to learn whether I should have the command of the Colony, which would be the wish of every-body, even of the Intendant, seeing the incapacity of him upon whom the government of the country would have devolved, namely, M. Rigaud, who must assume the reins as senior Deputy-Governor ; and this shortsighted man, always led by the first comer, would have seriously embarrassed the Intendant ; failing him, it would have been a simple King's Lieutenant, and so on from one to another, to even a simple Colonial Captain, in preference to a gene-

ral officer, who, by his commission, is only nominally under the Marquis de Vaudreuil's orders, and who, in the field, commands all the others.

"The precaution I suggest to you appears to me necessary for the good of the service. Before I left Paris, I knew enough of the form of the government of this Colony to have foreseen this difficulty, but I confess to you that I did not believe myself sufficiently the choice or the intimate of the Minister of Marine, to dare to speak to him about it." (1)

He then gave due praise to his lieutenants Lévis and Bourlamaque, and also to the people of the colony : "What a colony ! What a people, when called on ! What an advantage could a Colbert turn them to ; you occupy his post, and are his worthy successor. They all possess talent and courage at bottom, but up to the present time, nothing has animated that body or served to develop the existing germs." He then proceeded to recommend an old relative of his to the minister's spirit of justice. Then reverting to himself, he wrote :

"As for me, my Lord, I ask no other favour than my recall at the earliest moment possible. Should it be the opinion that my second, or any other European general officer, would succeed better as chief, I would always quit without difficulty a country where I am wasting my health ; where I fear not to be as expeditious in the King's service as I would desire, and where the General will be occupied

(1) M. de Montcalm à M. de Moras, Montreal, 11th. July, 1757.—*Paris Documents, X. p. 576.*

only in detracting from the share the land forces and I may have in successes, and in rendering us responsible for these events which may be unsuccessful.

"I wish the unfortunate and too much to be pitied M. de Dieskau were in Paris ; he must have made some reflections, and has no other faults than having been ignorant of the Colony, and having placed too much reliance on what had been told him.

"Therefore, my Lord, recall me as soon as possible ; if, however, there be, at the peace, an interval between the news and the departure of the troops, were it but of three months, I offer to go and look, with military and political views, at Detroit and the Beautiful river ; but without an order from you, I should be refused permission to go and reconnoitre any part of the Colony where the business of the war will not per force take me ; and I greatly wish never to have any reasons for going to defend or retake the Beautiful river, although I have already drafted a plan, should the need ever occur.

"My pay is only twenty-five thousand *livres*, I have none of the perquisites of the Governors or Intendants of Canada, I must support a staff ; I do nothing beyond, neither do I anything beneath my station.

"I am obliged to give myself importance, single handed ; no person seeks to give me any here ; they would fain try to deprive me of it, but they will not succeed. M. de Machault admitted that I was not adequately paid ; he promised to make it up to me and to attend to it. I did not come here to carry home money ; but should be sorry to make a hole here in the little patrimony of six children.

"I have, nevertheless, expended ten thousand francs beyond my allowance, and shall continue since the expense I incur is necessary. I flatter myself you will assist me to pay my debts." (1)

After his return from lake St. Sacrement, Montcalm had to face other causes of annoyance. We have seen that in a letter to the minister of Marine, dated the 23rd of October 1756, M. de Vaudreuil had accused him of rudeness and unfairness in his treatment of the Canadians and the Indians. The Minister of War had been the recipient of similar complaints. Montcalm did not know that Vaudreuil had written against him, when he received two letters, one from the Minister of War, and the other from the Minister of Marine, indicating clearly that he had been traduced and placed in an unfavourable light with these high officials. The Minister of War, le Marquis de Paulmy, who had succeeded his uncle, M. d'Argenson, wrote to the General: "It is very important that the officers of land troops in Canada should live in harmony with those of the colony. It is to be feared that the former are dealing harshly and haughtily with the Canadians ; and above all it would be most deplorable that the Indians should be dissatisfied with their treatment. His Majesty has directed me to make known his desire that you should busy yourself as much as you can to foster between the troops under your command, and the residents of Canada those feelings of friendship and good understanding,

(1) Montcalm à M. de Moras, Montréal, 11 juillet 1757. *Paris Documents*, X, p. 578.

without which it cannot be hoped that they will work together and manifest their zeal for the success of your undertakings. As your own example would be, no doubt, most instrumental in teaching them their duty, you cannot show too much moderation and affability on every occasion towards the Canadians and the Indians. It is above all essential to be conciliatory with the latter whose services as scouts are indispensable."⁽¹⁾ It is easy to understand that M. de Paulmy was delivering to his correspondent a somewhat severe lecture on his behaviour towards Canadians and Indians.

The other minister, M. de Moras, wrote in the same strain : "The experience won in the last campaign, has undoubtedly shown you how useful the Canadians and Indians can be in all military moves that you may be called upon to make. It is safe to rely upon the valour and even the good will and zeal of the Canadians if they are not treated in a manner that will disgust them. Their situation in itself deserves special regard, and their temper calls for even more. Firmness is sometimes necessary with them ; but an intelligent moderation, which is generally more apt than any thing else to make authority respected, ought specially to succeed with them. As to the Indians, you have surely noticed that, if it is not good to add fuel to their natural pride in relation to the services they may render, in the mean time it is important to comply, to a certain extent, with the whims by which they

(1) M. le Marquis de Paulmy à M. le Marquis de Montcalm. *Lettres de la cour de Versailles*, p. 62.

are often governed, and that a good deal of patience is required to obtain their cooperation. Of course it is not for yourself that I indulge in these general considerations on the policy to be followed with Canadians and Indians ; I rest assured that you have already won the confidence of both. But from Canada some reports have come to us stating that certain land officers dealt too roughly with them." (1) Evidently the minister of Marine, in his fine diplomatic style, was treating Montcalm to a homily on moderation and good temper. It was not intended for him, perhaps, but he could take it to heart !

Montcalm was intelligent, and he probably realised from what quarter the accusations arose. But he was wise enough to abstain from recrimination and answered in a collected and respectful manner. To the Minister of War he said : " The wise counsel you give me proves to my mind how much you are pleased to interest yourself for the success of my mission. You can assure the King that what you so strictly recommend on his part is exactly followed on mine ; therefore, have I acquired to the highest degree the confidence of the Canadians and Indians. With the former when I am on the march or in camp, I have the air of a Tribune of the people ; my success, which any other might have had, and the intimate acquaintance with the manners of the Indians, the attention I pay them, has won for me their affection. This is so strong that there are moments perhaps, when my General is astonished at it. He

(1) M. de Moras au Marquis de Montcalm.—*Lettres de la Cour de Versailles p. 69.*

is a native of Canada, and his system and that of his friends has ever been to proclaim that his name alone would suffice to attract the confidence of the Nations. I should fancy that I am now as sure of mine. The officers of the Colony esteem, consider and believe me to be just and severe, and many fear me; but these are neither a Villiers, nor a Contrecoeur, nor a Ligneris, nor many others. In regard to our troops, I have established the greatest political harmony.”⁽¹⁾

Montcalm’s answer to the minister of Marine was a little more pointed. He felt that his enemies were stronger in that department. We give the most important passage of this reply: “ You vaunt the valor of the Canadians, you read me some lessons respecting the conduct to be observed towards them and the Indians. You kindly add, that it is not in regard to myself, but that private accounts make mention of the harshness with which some of our officers treat the one and the other. I have taken very good care not to show that letter; it would have afflicted our officers who are but too well persuaded, and not without cause, that people in the Colony are, through a spirit of low jealousy, occupied only in running them down; those imputations are false. Those accounts which you mention to me, have been written, my Lord, by persons as ill-instructed as they are ill-intentioned. I appeal to the Marquis de Vaudreuil and to M. Bigot who have appeared to me pained by your letter, and who, both the one and

(1) Montcalm à Paulmy, Québec, 18 septembre 1757.—*Paris Documents*, x. p. 638.

the other, have assured me, that they would undeceive you.⁽¹⁾ The Canadians and Indians are well pleased with the few of our officers who have been with them, and M. Pouchot, Captain of the regiment of Béarn, who has been in command at Niagara, is regretted by the latter.

"As for what regards myself, personally, I shall not alter my conduct. The Canadian, the simple farmer, respects and loves me. As to the Indians, I dare believe I have seized their genius and manners. I am indebted for their confidence perhaps more for my success than to my feeble talents; but in the present moment I dare assert that even in the Upper countries, my name will make as much impression as those who are believed to be the idol of those people. They hold as a principle to consider as much the war chief as the chief of the cabin. In respect to Canadian valor, no one renders it more justice than I and the French do, but a nation so much accustomed to brag, will glorify itself long enough before I shall ever entertain the unfortunate confidence of M. de Dieskau. I will not employ them except in their sphere, and shall endeavour to support their bravery by the advantage of the woods and of the regular troops. By this expression I mean the Land and Marine forces, which I esteem to an equal degree."⁽²⁾

We can see by this letter that Montcalm had his own

(1) This remark of Vaudreuil appears very strange when we consider the letter he had written to the Minister of War on the 23rd of October 1756, in which he accused Montcalm of dealing harshly with the Canadians and Indians.

(2) Montcalm à M. de Moras—*Paris Documents*, X, p. 686.

prejudices. But there is a good deal of truth in his reflexions. His remarks about employing the Canadians "in their sphere," are pointed. To try to make them serve as the regulars, would have been folly. But they had their merit and were not to be despised as fighters, and Montcalm appreciated this fact. The real trouble with Montcalm was that he resented too deeply the governor's evident partiality for his own people, and he did not sufficiently conceal his feelings. The Canadian people were faithful to their allegiance, patient in times of great trials, courageous and resolute on the eve of a national crisis ; they bore valiantly more than their share of sacrifices and sufferings, and for all that, notwithstanding their failings, they deserved more consideration than was shown them by the land officers generally, and sometimes by Montcalm himself. However so far as the General was concerned, he usually kept his most bitter judgments for his confidants and when appeal was made to his sense of justice a study of the facts did not reveal any evidence that he gave willingly and knowingly iniquitous decisions against the sons of the soil. In a word, Montcalm's dislike of Canadians, of which he has been accused by certain historians, not without reason, is to be detected rather in his conversation and letters than in his acts. His natural generosity and uprightness were strong enough to counterbalance his prejudice.

The letter of the Minister of War written in April did not reach Montcalm until the end of the following summer.⁽¹⁾

(1) The letter of the minister of Marine reached Montcalm only in February, 1758.

And at the time when he had leisure to ponder over that unpleasant communication, he was submitted to the censorious whisperings of the Governor's *entourage* about his alleged failure in completing the surrender of William Henry with the capture of Fort Edward. M. de Vaudreuil was extremely disappointed when he saw that Montcalm did not push further his advantage, and did not proceed immediately to attack Webb. In his written instructions to the General, delivered on the ninth of July, there was a paragraph relating to the siege of Fort Lydius, or Fort Edward: "We will not doubt," said the Governor, "should the Marquis de Montcalm be successful in the first instance, but Fort Lydius will be intimidated to the degree that it will offer only a feeble resistance; therefore the Marquis de Montcalm will leave some troops at Fort George, and consider nothing more pressing than to present himself with his army before Fort Lydius and lay siege to it, unless it be evident that the forces of the Colony would be compromised by this second expedition. He perceives as fully as I do that so long as Fort Lydius stands, the English will always possess means to threaten our frontier, whilst, should that fort be razed, they would be forced to abandon that project, and by a necessary consequence, all their ambitious projects against this Colony would vanish." ⁽¹⁾ Later on, two days before the fall of William Henry M. de Vaudreuil writing to Montcalm, insisted again on that point. He said: "I am confident that this courier will join you at Fort Lydius; circumstances are more

(1) *Paris Documents*, X, p. 662.

favorable for your laying siege to it.... Should we fail to reduce Fort Lydius this year, we may give it up, as we shall never again have such a fine opportunity... Nothing should be an impediment to you in that regard, even though the Canadians should not return soon enough to save their harvest, we shall not want provisions, and besides, it would be better for them to be a little short than to be obliged next year to see themselves at the same trouble to guard their frontier."⁽¹⁾ This letter showed that when M. de Vaudreuil cherished an idea, he was blind to anything else; and that intent in his solitary and obstinate preoccupation, he stuck strenuously to his wish without being able to see or appreciate the obstacles in the way of its realisation. Montcalm did not follow Vaudreuil's instructions and entreaties because he deemed the undertaking impossible. In spite of the Governor's affirmation, the Canadians could not well be kept on military duty at the time of harvest. If the crops had been entirely lost that year it would have been a disaster for the Colony, worse than the loss of a battle. "We shall not want provisions" quietly wrote Vaudreuil, comfortably seated at his desk in his cabinet at Château-Vaudreuil. Not want provisions!... But the Colony was starving! The population was reduced to four ounces of bread a day!⁽²⁾ No, the Canadians could not be kept at lake St-Sacrement later than the middle of August, without running the risk of

(1) Vaudreuil à Montcalm, 7 août, 1757. *Paris Documents*, X, p. 660.

(2) M. Doreil à M. de Paulmy, 14 août 1757.—*Paris Documents*, X, p. 597.

ruining New-France.⁽¹⁾ They must be sent to harvest, and that would necessitate the withdrawal of over two thousand men from the army. Then the Indians had vanished in great numbers, after their treacherous and fiendish *coup* of the 10th, and this contributed further to weaken Montcalm. And last but not least, he had no horses to carry his artillery over a road of nearly six leagues through the woods. He would have been obliged to leave it at William Henry with a force to protect it, and proceed with perhaps four thousand men in all, to attack six thousand soldiers, intrenched, covered by a fort, amply provided with artillery, ammunition and food. It would have been courting defeat and risking the splendid result already obtained. No, Montcalm was not in a position to lay siege to Fort Lydius after the capture of William Henry.

But Vaudreuil did not wish to change his mind. He said that Lydius should be taken, and Lydius must be taken! Accordingly he complained to the Minister and accused Montcalm. On the eighteenth of August he wrote to M. de Moras: "My satisfaction would have been complete had such reduction been followed by that of Fort Lydius. The instructions I had given the Marquis de Montcalm will prove to you the desire I had that such should have been effected, and I hope that you will recognize therein the zeal which animates me for His Majesty's service and the

(1) Vaudreuil himself in his written instructions to Montcalm, said: "We warn him beforehand that it will not be in his power to avoid sending back about the end of the month of August, the Upper County Nations and the greater part of the Canadians to have our crops saved."

glory of his arms. I have no reproach to make myself on this head; I even wrote to the Marquis de Montcalm, on the seventh of this month, to make him more easy and to impress upon him still more the importance of this second expedition; you will perceive, my Lord, that I took pains politically to reassure him in regard to provisions, so that he might act without the least uneasiness. He had only about six leagues of a very fine road before reaching Fort Lydius, and I am confident that the reduction of the first fort would have inevitably drawn down that of the second. I would only have wished that Marquis de Montcalm had presented himself; he had everything according to his desire, and was sure at all events of his retreat.”⁽¹⁾ All this is very ingenious.—To Vaudreuil, peacefully surrounded in his quarters ninety-two leagues from the scene of operations, Montcalm’s action was inexplicable. The difficulties of the road, the obstacles in the way, and the absurdity of the propositions did not strike Vaudreuil. Montcalm had only to present himself, and all difficulties would vanish. And to such a tactician the defence of New France was entrusted.

Vaudreuil’s friend, Bigot, did not entertain the same views. On the 16th of August, he had written to Montcalm: “The resolution you have taken not to besiege Fort Edward (or Lydius) and not to make the garrison prisoners of war, is the wisest in every point of view; we could not feed them. It would be greatly to be feared that the harvest in the government of Montreal would have

(1) *Paris Documents.*

been lost had you detained the farmers any longer. You had not provisions enough at Carillon for that enterprise. I could not have provided subsistence for our army on Lake St. Sacrement after the month of August. We must consider ourselves very fortunate to have been able to set on foot the army that you commanded and to have provided for its subsistence for forty days in a year in which people are, so to speak without bread. The Colony must realise all the obligations it is under to you." (1) For once, Bigot was right. But Vaudreuil was bound to minimize Montcalm's glory, and tongues, at le Château-Vaudreuil, were very busily employed in expatiating over the Major-General's deficiency.

All this greatly provoked Montcalm; he began to give way to his feelings and to return within his intimate circle, the governor's strictures.

(1) *Paris Documents*, X. p. 631.

C H A P T E R XIV.

MONTCALM AT QUEBEC—PUBLIC DISTRESS.

ON the 10th of September, Montcalm left for Quebec where he desired to make a review of the two battalions of Berry which had lately arrived in a pitiful state from France.⁽¹⁾ He reached the city on the 14th and found matters in a deplorable condition. The people were exercised over the impending fate of Louisbourg, the scarcity of provisions was distressing the inhabitants, many of whom were reduced to four ounces of bread; and the hospitals were filled with dying troops.

Montcalm's presence had a good effect.

From the 10th to the 13th of October, the General made an inspection of the North Shore below Quebec, as far as

(1) This regiment was to have been sent to the East Indies. Its battalions were composed of nine companies, each company numbering sixty men. Its strength should have been over 1100, but an infectious disease had prevailed on board of the ships and the Quebec hospitals were crowded with sick soldiers as soon as they landed. The regiment lost three officers and three hundred men. Five nuns and four priests lost their lives in attending them. (*Journal de Malartic*, p. 100). The ships had also brought 1100 recruits and eight new companies, created according to an ordinance of the 25th February, to replace the four companies of La Reine and the four companies of Languedoc captured on *Le Lys* in 1755.

Cap Tourmente ; he was accompanied by MM. Pellegrin, a pilot, Montbeillard, an engineer, recently arrived from France, and Bougainville. He wanted to ascertain how the approaches to Quebec could be defended in that direction, if there was an invasion. He thought that a battery could be established at Cap Tourmente, which would prove dangerous to a British fleet passing under its fire. Between that cape and Montmorency, there was no place fit for landing. The Sault was an impassable barrier. From Montmorency river to Quebec a line of redoubts would protect the shore very effectively. Then a defensive work at the General-Hospital, and lines from that place to Abraham's Hill, and at the Lower Town, would put Quebec in a position to be defended by three or four thousand men. The best means to protect the place was to prevent the enemy from approaching it. All these considerations on the possible protection of Quebec, are developed at some length in Montcalm's Journal.⁽¹⁾

Montcalm remained five months in the Capital, from the 14th of September 1757 to the 20th of February 1758. M. de Vaudreuil came there for three weeks only, in October. Montcalm was probably pleased enough with his absence. He lived in a house situated on Rampart Street,⁽²⁾ which commanded a splendid view of the river and of the Beauport Coast. The house had been rented to him by Descheneaux, Bigot's secretary. There he read,

(1) *Journal de Montcalm*, p. 307.

(2) The house which occupies that historical site, on Rampart street, bears the number 49. It stands not far from Hamel street. On the front wall can be read this inscription : " Montcalm's Place."

studied, wrote, thought and exercised with becoming generosity, but without ostentation, the duties of hospitality.

In perusing his correspondence and Journal of that time, we see that his mind was oppressed by many cares. Public distress was increasing. The question of provisions was one which came often under the General's pen. On the 26th of September he writes : " Distress is great, bread is extremely scarce, crops are bad." On the same day he says in a letter to M. de Lévis : " Our sad situation, Monsieur, makes it necessary that we and our soldiers submit to a great reduction in the rations.... M. l'Intendant Bigot just acquainted me minutely with the miserable condition of the colony until we can receive some help from France. Every body in Quebec is reduced to four ounces of bread ; I go with the rest." On the 14th of October the Intendant gave notice that it would be necessary to eat horse-flesh from December till spring, and Montcalm says immediately : " As soon as horse will be given to our soldiers I will make my provision of it for all winter and there will always be horse-flesh on my table." Again, on the same subject : " The distribution of horse-flesh to soldiers was begun to-day. In eight days there will be three distributions of beef, three distributions of horse, and three distributions of cod-fish. Since a good while the Acadians and the Montreal and Quebec populations fare on horse-flesh. Care must be taken not to destroy entirely the oxen species, and it is in the political interest of the colony to reduce the number of horses, as the *habitants* keep too many of these, and don't raise enough oxen. According to M. Bigot, this distribution of horse-

flesh will necessitate the slaughtering of one thousand or twelve hundred of these animals, and he says that three thousand could be killed without in any way affecting public requirements. As a matter of fact it does not appear that this considerable slaughtering of horses has raised their price." ⁽¹⁾ On the 14th of December Montcalm writes to Lévis : "Horse is eaten at my table under every form, with the exception of horse soup." As the winter crept on, the public distress increased. In April we find these lines in Montcalm's Journal : "The population has been reduced at Quebec to two ounces of bread. There has been a mob of women at the lieutenant-general's door." ⁽²⁾ Some people were literally starving ; in the country a great many habitants were living on boiled oats ; Bougainville writes that many were seen eating grass.

Amidst all these dreadful sufferings and anxieties, how strange and sad it is to hear the merry buzz of joyful parties. Soon after his arrival at Quebec, Montcalm had urged moderation and the suppression of all festivities. We read in his *Journal* : "Yesterday I spoke about retrenchment on our tables, M. de Vaudreuil has approved of my views and promised to set a good example. The whole colony praises the idea, but the Intendant is not enthusiastic. He likes ostentation, and this is not the time for it. I have spoken of one service according to the article 16 of the ordinance. I have said that, during the whole winter, there should be no balls, no violins, no

(1) *Journal de Montcalm*, p. 323.

(2) Le lieutenant-général de la prévôté de Québec.

entertainments, no pleasure parties." (1) This was sound and wise advice. But if Bigot remained silent while listening to Montcalm's lecture on simplicity and social restraint, his silence surely did not imply acquiescence. For, two months later, the General had to record the following facts : " M. le Marquis de Montcalm having learnt that, on Sunday, there was going to be a party at l'Intendant's, where a big *lansquenet* was to take place, he has deemed it advisable to promulgate again the strictest orders against play in gaming-houses at the Lower Town... The Intendant has received a big company, on the occasion of a concert given by some ladies and officers. The music was as good as could possibly be expected in a country where art has few opportunities yet. The gambling has been so great and so much beyond the means of many gamblers, that I thought I was looking at fools, or rather at people sick with burning fever ; for I don't remember having seen a bigger game, with the exception of the King's game. If all these gamblers who seem to squander their money would scrutinize their feelings, they would see that, notwithstanding their inclination to spend, this passion for gambling is the result of greediness and cupidity. There were three tables which could accommodate eighty guests, the rooms were well lighted, and everything would have been perfect if the lord of the house, munificence in all details, had shown more tact and been more attentive to have his splendid supper served earlier. But game held him so fast that in spite of his taste for feasting and his

(1) Lettres du Marquis de Montcalm au chevalier de Lévis, p. 65.

desire of pleasing his guests, cards evidently captivate him to such an extent that, in order to finish a game of lansquenet, a supper prepared for nine o'clock was served only at twelve."⁽¹⁾ These inside views of the social life of the times are very interesting and even instructive.

This evening party at M. Bigot's given on the 18th of December 1757, was the first shot of the season. From that day it was a round of jollity. On the 23rd of December, Montcalm writes to Lévis. "Since the big game of last Sunday hot and notable skirmishes have taken place daily at M. l'Intendant's or at Mde. Péan's, either at the *quinze*, or at the *trente et quarante*, or at dice, and in the evening the *momons*.⁽²⁾ There were four of them to-night, of ten, thirty, one hundred and twenty-five *louis* of which the *paroli*⁽³⁾ was offered after the winning of the last game."

This is the first time that we have mentioned the name of Madame Péan. She was a Miss des Meloises, pretty, bright and very winning. Her husband was Michel-Jean-Hugues Péan, Seignior of St-Michel, one of Bigot's associates in his notorious transactions and speculations. The Intendant had been captivated by her charms, and she was all powerful with him. Their *liaison* was a common place story, and one of the most notorious scandals of that scandalous regime. On a smaller scale she played at Quebec the roll that Madame la Marquise de Pompadour

(1) *Journal de Montcalm*, p. 325.

(2) A dice game.

(3) Gambling expression which meant doubling the stake.

was playing at Versailles. Bigot was a second Louis XVth and Madame Péan was another Pompadour.⁽¹⁾

Night after night the feasting and gambling went on. On the 30th December Montcalm writes : " Big gambling ! The Intendant, yesterday and the day before, lost four hundred and fifty pounds. To-day he has just risked a game where six hundred and fifty pounds were at stake. Johannes has lost three hundred pounds to-night. Sometimes the Intendant, cards or dice in hands, is afraid and flinches. M. de Selles wins from five to six hundred pounds, but he fights yet." His letter of the 4th January contains news of the same kind : " Never has the famous Quincampoix street seen so many changes in fortunes. Bougainville is retrieving himself, de Selles decreases, the Intendant loses, Cadillac rises, de Brau is drowned, Marin goes on playing and losing ; the little gamblers were doing better yesterday..... The tone of good breeding, of politeness, of society, is banished from the house where it should reign. I always fear to be obliged to punish before Lent, some gambler who will have forgotten that his playmate is the King's man. So, I go to l'Intendant's only in the morning or once a week, with ladies, or on big occasions."⁽²⁾ On the 13th of January, Montcalm learns that

(1) Madame Péan lived in the little Du Parloir Street, leading to the Ursuline's Convent. Bigot's carriage could be seen at her door daily.

(2) Unfortunately M. de Vaudreuil was to a certain extent, responsible for all this gambling. He had, the year before, given permission to M. Bigot to have a bank at his place. Montcalm wrote to the Minister of War : " I have found that our officers are inclined to games of hazard, I proposed to M. de Vaudreuil to prohibit them ; I even placed an officer under arrest. There was no play either at Quebec or Montreal, until

M. de Vaudreuil has permitted the game of *pharaon*⁽¹⁾ in his house, at Montreal, and he writes : "He, (the Governor) has not seen that Péan was pushing him to that, in order to justify the Intendant's gambling". Indeed, after that, the fury of play seems worse than before : "The Minister of Marine has sent a King's ordinance to forbid hazardous game", says Montcalm in his *Journal* on the 7th of February ; "that came opportunely at a time when the gambling frenzy has been brought to its climax by M. Bigot's example and M. de Vaudreuil's weakness. This Intendant has lost two hundred and four thousand francs, and in spite of that many officers are also losing. That sum is nothing for an Intendant of Canada who is unscrupulous. The least coup at dice or at *trente et quarante* was for stakes of nine hundred pounds, even of fifteen hundred." The approach of Lent was marked by a shower of worldly and costly pleasures. Within a few days, the Intendant gave three great balls. The gambling was dreadful. Bigot lost fifteen hundred pounds in three quarters of an hour. At last this carnival ended. Bigot himself seemed ashamed of all the excesses committed. He said he was willing to be called a wretch if hazardous games were played at his Palace next year.⁽²⁾

M. de Vaudreuil's arrival at Quebec. M. Bigot loves to gamble, M. de Vaudreuil thought proper to permit a bank at M. Bigot's. I said what I considered my duty, but did not wish to forbid an officer playing at it ; it would have been displeasing to M. de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot ; the good of the service requires the contrary,"—Montcalm à M. d'Argenson, 24 avril 1757.

(1) A card game.

(2) During the following year, however, gambling was resorted to as usual.

Montcalm's had tried to suppress gambling altogether, but having failed, on account of the privilege enjoyed by l'Intendant, he did his best to impress on his officer's minds the dangers of games of hazard. For himself he played mildly at five sous le tri, or at thirty sous *le piquet*. Once he was unwillingly interested in a game, and lost fifteen pounds. That was on Twelfth Day's evening, the 6th of January. The Intendant had given a great supper ; chance had intelligently designated Montcalm as the king, ⁽¹⁾ and Mde Péan was his queen. After supper he could not escape playing : "There are partnerships which cannot well be refused," he says in his *Journal*. Mde Péan was a gambler herself. The general was on friendly terms with her, and this was not his chief recommendation. Of course his official position did not leave him absolutely free to follow always his own tastes. He was obliged to fulfil certain social duties especially when high officers of the state such as the Intendant were concerned. Nevertheless it must be admitted that he exceeded the bounds of discretion in that direction. At the beginning of the season, he had urged the propriety of abstaining from social rejoicings at a time when public distress was so great. It would have been better had he adhered more strictly to his own advice ; shown himself only two or three times at l'Intendant's, and avoided as much as possible all intimate connection with Bigot's corrupt court. Instead of that he was seen

(1) At la *sûte des Rois*, it was customary in France and Canada to serve at supper a cake in which had been placed a bean. The guest who found the bean in his piece was the king of the party. On such occasions, the guidance of chance was an easy thing.

very often in Mde Péan's drawing room. "We have here," he wrote, "two good houses, the hôtel Péan and Mde. de la Naudière's....⁽¹⁾ I visit alternately the one or the other". He spent his evenings twice a week at M. Bigot's. Montcalm had no esteem for these people. He knew that Bigot was a thief, and that Mde. Péan exercised her charms to promote her own interests and those of her relations. He called the first one *Verrès*⁽²⁾ and the second one *la Sultane*.⁽³⁾ True it is that his demeanor and habits were far above the level of Bigot's clique, and that he did not indulge in the same dissipation and extravagance. But without appearing austere he could have abstained more than he did from these entertainments, and gorgeous banquets, of which he disapproved in his heart, and which made him write once : "In spite of the public distress we have balls and furious gambling".⁽⁴⁾ Montcalm was enlightened and refined, and a good citizen. In his official capacity he had to deal with knaves. But as a man of the world he should have remained aloof. To write against Bigot, against his clique, to brand in eloquent pages their rascalities, and to meet them afterwards at pleasure parties is not an action that we can admire, although it is probable Montcalm

(1) Madame de la Naudière, - born Geneviève de Boishébert, daughter of the Seignior of River-Ouelle,—lived at the corner of Du Parloir and Donaccona streets. On the same street, at the other corner,—St. Louis and Du Parloir—lived Mde. de Beaubassin, another of Montcalm's lady friends. Mde Péan's hôtel was situated midway.

(2) *Journal de Montcalm*, p. 461 : "Here comes Verrès ; he builds for himself an immense fortune...."

(3) Lettres du Marquis de Montcalm à Bourlamaque, p. 257 : "Péan has just passed six days at Lachine with "la sultane régnante."

(4) Lettre à Madame de Montcalm, 19 février 1758.

found it difficult to do otherwise, on account of his situation. Bigot was the Intendant of New-France ; as long as he was kept in office, he represented the King's authority. Besides he was clever, though dishonest, and possessed undoubted abilities. He was a man of resources, of activity, of energy, and more than once, Montcalm had found him useful in military matters, at critical moments. His talents were dearly paid, but he had rendered services. For all these reasons, the General may have found himself bound to suppress his inward feelings, and even to remain apparently on familiar terms with the Intendant. Montcalm appears to have doubted the wisdom of these visits to Bigot, for he stated in his Journal that, in future, he would go only once a week to the Palace.

Montcalm's social relations with Mde Péan, were probably due to the atmosphere of the time. Women of M. de Péan's order were prevalent during the eighteenth century, and they were surrounded by a circle of friends and admirers ; the *habitués* of their celebrated *salons* where academicians, artists, men of standing at court and in the camp.

Montcalm had more force of character than many of his contemporaries, and he was imbued with religious principles, but he was not entirely free from the influence of his age.

We have spoken of Montcalm's association with Mde Péan, who could scarcely be termed a friend. The general highly appreciated the society of two other ladies, the wives of Colonial officers, Mde de la Naudière, and Mde de Beaubassin.

The former was a Miss Boishébert, daughter of the Seigneur of River Ouelle, and the latter was Miss de Verchères, the daughter of the Seigneur of Verchères.

Montcalm was particularly impressed with Mde de Beau-bassin, and in a letter to Bourlamaque, written in 1757, he said : " I am glad that you sometimes speak of me to the three ladies in the rue du Parloir, and I am flattered by their remembrance, especially by that of one of them, in whom I find at certain moments too much wit and too many charms for my tranquillity." This sounded more like love than friendship. Montcalm was always impulsive in his feelings and in his expressions. He was a man of the South.

Returning to more important matters we must record here that it was during Montcalm's sojourn at Quebec that MM. de Vergor and de Villeray were tried by Court Martial for having surrendered Beauséjour and Gaspareaux. Vergor, one of Bigot's *creatures* was guilty, and Villeray probably innocent. Both were acquitted because Vergor was highly protected.

CHAPTER XV.

CARILLON—MONTCALM'S TRIUMPH

MONTCALM left Quebec for Montreal on the 20th of February 1758. The spring was uneventful. The great questions before the leaders of the colony were, what military operations should be conducted this year what reinforcements would come from France, and how could the victualling problem be solved.

In spite of the victories won during the preceding campaigns, never had the situation of Canada been worse than at the present moment. Starvation had scourged the colony; resources of every kind were nearly exhausted, the news from France was not encouraging, and that from England was of the most alarming character.

It was clear that the English government and the English colonies were going to make a desperate effort this year to subdue New-France. What would be the plan of operations? As the spring went on it became evident that an attack would be made at three points: Louisbourg, Fort Duquesne and Lake Champlain. Louisbourg and Fort Duquesne were two important posts. The first was the key of the St. Lawrence, the second was the safeguard of French influence in the West. But lake Champlain was the most vital point. On that frontier Carillon barred

the progress of the enemy. If Carillon fell, St. Frédéric could not be defended, and through the lakes St. John and Chamblay, the enemy could in a few days reach Montreal, the heart of Canada. Therefore it was at Carillon that the fate of New-France was to be decided this year.

At the beginning of June, it was resolved that an army of about 5,000 soldiers should be formed at Carillon. But, in the mean time, M. de Vaudreuil wanted to organize a detachment of 1600 men, with Indians, to make a diversion in the vicinity of the Mohawk river. This detachment was to be commanded by M. de Lévis, having as his lieutenant M. de Rigaud, brother of the governor, recently promoted to the government of Montreal. Here, once more, Montcalm and Vaudreuil did not agree. The general thought that this division of forces was not advisable; that all available troops should be sent to Carillon to face the dreadful storm that was likely to rage on that frontier. The governor, on the contrary, was of opinion that the Mohawk river expedition would be of great utility, as it would help to bring the Five Nations to the French side, or, at all events, prevent them from joining the English; and also that it would alarm the enemy for the safety of the Orange river region, and perhaps stop an offensive move on lake St-Sacrement. It appears that Vaudreuil had not a correct idea of the forces that the English could put in the field this year. Being very obstinate, he had his own way, and nearly three thousand men were withdrawn from the defence of Lake Champlain.⁽¹⁾ Lévis,

(1) In his *Journal* Montcalm wrote: "That fanciful expedition of

pleased with the importance of the command of this detachment, sided, on that occasion, with the governor.

Bourlamaque was sent in the beginning of June to Carillon to take command of the troops stationed there and of those who were to be sent. The battalion of Languedoc left for the frontier on the 7th of June; Guyenne on the 12th; Royal-Roussillon on the 15th; La Sarre on the 17th; and Béarn on the 20th. Berry was already stationed at Carillon.

Montcalm was to leave on the 24th of June for Carillon to take charge of the army. But, before starting, a rupture occurred between him and the governor. On the evening of the 23rd, at ten o'clock, Vaudreuil sent him written instructions for the campaign. This document was at the same time minute and indefinite, peremptory and contradictory. It covered many pages, entered into long and unnecessary explanations, went deeply into trifles, affected to provide for every emergency; and after a long winded enumeration of the general's many duties during the campaign, the paper ended with these words : " We regard as useless *entering into any fuller details* with the Marquis de Montcalm on whatever may concern the objects of his mission or tend to the glory of his Majesty's arms and the good of the colony, we refer them to his knowledge, his experience and his zeal, in which we have always

Corlar (as it is called by courtiers) will perhaps cause the ruin of this colony. We should march immediately to the enemy with the Indians, the elite of Canadians, land and marine troops. They are not yet intrenched.... A sudden and strong attack would finish the campaign in that direction." In another passage he calls the Mohawk river expedition : " la don Quichotterie de Corlar."

reposed our confidence." After such instructions, these expressions sound like mockery.

Montcalm was incensed on reading this document, which was delivered to him at ten o'clock. Immediately he took his pen and wrote to the Governor: "Sir, I have the honor to beg of you to read again the Instructions with which you have honored me this evening, and the annexed Memoir, and I expect from your equity that you will think it sufficient that I take upon myself, under circumstances which may be critical, to defend as much as it will be possible for me, the frontier of Lake St-Sacraiment with 4000 men, against very superior forces, without burdening me with instructions, the obscurities and contradictions whereof appear to render me responsible for events which may happen and must anticipate. I render justice to the uprightness of your intentions, but I cannot leave until you have furnished me an instruction with all the changes as necessary as they are indispensable to preserve the reputation of a General officer who has served with so much zeal for your own glory and the defence of this Colony." This letter was accompanied with a Memoir in which Montcalm pointed out the weak points of the instruction. This document was dated. "Montreal, the 23rd, at night!" We read under the same date in Montcalm's Journal: "The Marquis de Vaudreuil has delivered to me, at ten o'clock this evening, his ridiculous, unintelligible and captious instruction. If I had accepted, it was framed in such a manner, that any unlucky event could be imputed to me, whatever measures I would have taken. I sent it back to M. de Vaudreuil with a Memoir explaining

my views on the present occasion. It was with the greatest reluctance that he consented to give me another instruction plain and clear. He stuck above all to a preamble in which he stated that he had studied with me all the affairs of the colony and taken my advice over all matters. I admit that he should have done that, according to my rank, my reputation and the King's orders. But as he never consulted me on anything, as he communicated to me no news, none of his plans, none of his moves, I declared to him positively that I would never consent to accept that untrue affirmation at the head of his instruction, as I thought it damnable for my reputation. If the governor had insisted, my protest against that false assertion was ready. It is enough that a low jealousy be in the way of zeal, and, I dare say, of some talent, without consenting to be perfidiously made responsible for blunders which can be deplored and cannot be stopped."⁽¹⁾

It was after this hurricane, that Montcalm left for the army on the 24th of June 1758.

He arrived at Carillon on the 30th with MM. Pontleroy, who had been appointed chief engineer of New-France, and Desandrouins, second engineer. The whole forces under his command were composed, at that moment, of 2,970 land troops, 35 Canadians, 37 marine, and 15 Indians ⁽²⁾ In the mean time, Abercromby the English General, was encamped around the ruins of William Henry, at the foot of lake St-Sacrement, with 6,367 regulars and 9,024 prov-

(1) *Journal de Montcalm*, p. 376.

(2) Montcalm au Maréchal de Belle-Isle, 12 juillet 1758.

incial soldiers. He had six fine regiments of old troops : the 55th, commanded by lord Howe, a splendid officer who was the real head of the army ; the 27th; the 44th; the 46th; the 80th; the 42nd of Highlanders, with its giant men, noticeable by their bare legs and their kilts. Besides, there were in Abercromby's army, the Royal Americans, a regiment raised in the colonies, but commanded by European officers, and five provincial regiments provided by Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Rhode Island. This powerful army was well supplied with artillery & ammunition—in a word with all war requisites. Bourlamaque informed the general on his arrival that, from what his scouts and some prisoners had told him, this mighty force was to fall on Carillon and the handful of French troops gathered there, within, perhaps, forty-eight hours.

Montcalm's situation was precarious. He was at Carillon with only 3,000 men. This fort, called Ticonderoga by the English, was situated at the head of Lake Champlain, which was called at that place St-Frédéric river, and received the discharge of another lake, to the south,—the lake George or St-Sacrement. The river which formed the discharge of one lake into the other was called River of the Falls because it was full of rapids. The Carillon peninsula consisted of a rocky *plateau* on which stood the fort unskilfully constructed, and certainly not strong enough to sustain a siege. Never had a general been placed in a more distressing situation. As M. Doreil, commissary of war, wrote after the crisis was over, "there was enough to make me shudder. Fort Carillon was not finished. It

was capable of containing only a garrison of 400 men; provisions only for 10 to 12 days; no Indians, no retreat." Montcalm had only a choice of difficulties. Every determination, every position was equally hazardous. He could not think of meeting in the field 16,000 men and a formidable artillery with 3,000 men and no guns. Then he had either to fall back gradually and constantly before the enemy, and thus open Canada to invasion; or to choose the best fortified position and make a desperate stand to stop his march if possible. But where could that effort be made? St. Frédéric could not offer resistance for two days and there was no place fit for a defensive battle in this part. Carillon was after all the less disadvantageous position. And even there peril was tremendous. Abercromby could carry his artillery in front of Carillon and destroy the fort and intrenchments. Or he could leave there part of his army, and with the rest turn the position and go up the river St. Frédéric as far as a place called the Five Miles Point, where the stream is so narrow that a battery could absolutely command this passage. Carillon would thus be cut off from St. John; all supplies stopped, and Montcalm obliged to surrender with his army after a few days, for want of food. He was aware of all that.⁽¹⁾ He knew that the crisis of his life was now at hand. He understood that the fate of a whole country was at stake, and that on his shoulders rested the responsibility of defeat or victory, nay, of destruction or salvation. But he

(1) *A Dialogue in Hades*, by Johnstone, pp. 21, 22, 23, 24. *Historical Documents* printed by the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

did not flinch in the face of peril. At this supreme hour, he showed of what metal he was made; his noble heart grew stronger at the approach of danger; his powers rose in proportion to the emergency. Montcalm was never greater than during these days, when the fate of Carillon hung in the balance.

His plans were formed at once. The most important thing for him was to gain time. He had written to Vaudreuil, as soon as he had arrived at Carillon, asking him to send without a moment's loss all available reinforcements. And now he tried to check the enemy's advance by making a show of strength and determination. He ordered the battalions of La Reine, Guyenne and Béarn under Bourlamaque to occupy the head of the Portage on the border of Lake St. Sacrement, and also sent forward the battalion of Royal-Roussillon and the first battalion of Berry to the right of the Falls and the battalions of La Sarre and Languedoc to the left of that river, where he posted himself in person, to be equally within hail of all the parties. He left le Sieur de Tresseson at Carillon with the second battalion of Berry to command there. This bold manœuvre which presented the appearance of a larger force than he had, retarded for some days the enemy's movements. According to the report of prisoners, their first plan had been to establish at the Portage, under the order of lord Howe, a head which the main army was to follow some days after; this advance movement determined them to march the entire army, which delayed their operations until the fifth. Montcalm at the same time, went to reconnoitre and to determine the position he



The Marquis de Lévis.
From the painting in the possession of M. le Marquis de Lévis, Paris.

James Heath, Sc.

should take for the defense of Fort Carillon by occupying the heights that command it.⁽¹⁾

On the 5th of July, a lovely day, the English army embarked on 900 bateaux and 135 whale-boats, to the sound of martial music, with hundreds of flags fluttering in the morning breeze and, leaving behind them the ruins of William Henry, sailed on to victory.

The army reached the landing place at the head of the River of the Falls, the following morning. Bourlamaque had his advanced posts there, but he was not strong enough to risk an engagement. He ordered the bridge at the Portage to be broken, and retreating with his three battalions, he joined Montcalm at the Falls, according to the latter's orders. There the five battalions of Berry, Béarn, Royal-Roussillon, Guyenne and La Reine, crossed the river, destroyed the other bridge, and displayed themselves in battle array on the heights at their left, two miles from the fort.

During this time the English army had disembarked and began its march through the woods on the western bank of the River of the Falls. The day before its landing, Bourlamaque had sent a detachment of 300 men commanded by MM. de Langy and de Trépezec to occupy the Bald Mountain on the west side of lake St. Sacrement, and observe the enemy's movements. This detachment was to make its retreat by the left of the River. Unfortunately, it lost its way in the woods and on the afternoon of the fifth, it suddenly met the vanguard of the enemy,

(1) *Paris Documents*, X., p. 790.

commanded by Lord Howe. The English army had lost itself in the forest. A sharp fight ensued ; the French detachment was overpowered by superior numbers. Six officers and one hundred and eighty-seven soldiers were killed or captured. But on the English side one man was lost who was worth five regiments : Lord Howe was shot dead at the first volley.

For the English army his death was irretrievable. Abercromby seemed thunder-struck. The English regiments remained under arms during the whole night of the 6th to the 7th of July, and declining to make his way on the left side of the river, this poor general ordered the army back to the landing place, sent Colonel Bradstreet to reestablish the broken bridges, and followed the traces of Bourlamaque from the Portage to the Falls where the army stopped for the night. The end was now near.

For two days Montcalm had continued the construction of *abatis* intrenchments on the ground selected on the first of July. Pontleroy had traced them, and the battalions had worked with the greatest energy and enthusiasm. Montcalm's courage and determination seemed to animate each soldier. The intrenchments were constructed of trunks of trees laid one on the other, having trees in front, the branches of which being cut and sharpened, formed a chevaux de frise. It followed the sinuosities of the ground, rising to the summits of the heights, and all the sections flanked each other reciprocally.⁽¹⁾

During the night of the seventh to the eighth of July,

(1) *Paris Documents*, X, p. 793.

the French battalions bivouacked along the intrenchment. A mile and a half only separated the two armies. It was a solemn night. In each camp, many were those who thought of the coming day with mixed feelings of hope and dread. Montcalm was hopeful. He had neglected nothing to turn the tables in his favor, and up to the present moment he had succeeded. Two days before he had written to M. Doreil : " I have victuals for eight days only, no Canadians and not one Indian. They have not come yet. I have to deal with a formidable army. Nevertheless, I don't despair. My troops are good. From the enemy's movements I can see that he wavers ; if, thanks to his slowness, he gives me time to establish myself on the ground I have selected on the heights of Carillon and to intrench myself there, *I shall beat them.*" He had written the same to M. de Vaudreuil : " If they let me reach the heights of Carillon, *I shall beat them.*" He was on the heights of Carillon. Would the following day justify his proud affirmation ?

His hopes were strengthened during the night by the arrival of Pouchot with 300 regulars, and above all by the arrival of Lévis at five o'clock in the morning with 100 men. It was a slim reinforcement, but their commander was a host in himself. From the 1st to the 6th of July, Montcalm had received only 400 Canadians and Marines. Lévis and Pouchot had brought 400 regulars. These were all. Facts were proving that the division of forces and the Mohawk river expedition, under present circumstances were a mistake. Vaudreuil had been obliged to renounce it when he had learned that the lake Champlain frontier

was threatened by the most powerful army ever seen in America.

On the morning of the eight of July, the French battalions worked again to reinforce the intrenchments. At ten o'clock the light troops of the English began to show themselves. At noon the whole Anglo-American army was seen marching against Carillon. Immediately the French troops line the intrenchments. On the left La Sarre and Languedoc, with Bourlamaque : on the right Béarn, La Reine and Guyenne, with Lévis ; in the Centre Royal-Roussillon and Berry with Montcalm himself. Two companies of volunteers protected the shore of the river. In the plain, on the other side, were placed the colonial troops.

This was the supreme moment. The English regiments advanced steadily : first Roger's scouts, the light infantry, and Bradstreet's boatmen opening an irregular fire ; next the provincials with their blue uniforms ; and at last the regulars spreading their red masses. They came on in four columns and reached the *abatis* ; in spite of the entangled trees they pressed forward and approached the intrenchments. Suddenly the command was given in a clear voice : *Feu !* A storm of lead and flame carried death to the English ranks. The battle had commenced.

It was a hot and memorable day. For seven hours, the English columns made splendid assaults against these deadly intrenchments. Hundreds of brave soldiers fell at the foot of these thundering works, and hundreds pushing forward over their bodies, hurried to the front to meet a similar fate. At the beginning of the battle, the French left was

the most strongly attacked. Two English columns were thrown against that point. Bourlamaque was dangerously wounded and replaced by M. de Senezergues. The third column tried to storm the centre. But Montcalm was there with Royal-Roussillon. He exposed himself as the last soldier of his army, going to the left, to the right, raising enthusiasm and confidence everywhere. The fourth column directed its efforts on the right, and was hotly received by Lévis with Béarn and La Reine.

During the afternoon some firing was heard towards the river. Barges filled with English soldiers tried to land near Carillon. But Montcalm had anticipated this. The volunteers of Bernard and Duprat were on the shore and opened fire on the barges. In the meantime the guns of the fort were levelled at them ; two barges were sunk and the rest retired.

Towards four o'clock a desperate effort was made against the French right. The brave Highlanders were there, stubborn and unflinching soldiers, never daunted, never dispirited, always ready to charge. They press on, they force their way through the entanglement of trees ; their ranks are thinned by death ; but they heed it not ; forward ! forward ! until they are near the intrenchments. A few minutes more and they will force them. For one moment the fate of the day is doubtful. But Lévis encourages his soldiers to persevere. Montcalm, bare headed, hastens to the dangerous spot with his valiant grenadiers. Bayonets glitter ; a deadly fire decimates the braves of Scotland. And, at the same moment, the Canadians and marine troops answering Lévis' orders make a sortie on the flank

of the column. At last it gives way. Abercromby, who has not appeared on the battle-field, sends word to retreat. It is seven o'clock. Nearly two thousand English soldiers killed and wounded are lying in front of the French intrenchments.

Montcalm had fought and vanquished ; he had won a great victory ; more than that ; he had saved New-France from invasion and shed immortal glory on his flag and nation.

When he went through the lines that night, accompanied by Lévis, his soldiers hailed him with triumphant acclamations. They had a right to be jubilant, 3,800 men had repulsed 15,000.

The General sent immediately an officer to carry these glorious tidings to the governor at Montreal.

The day after, French scouts reported that Abercromby and his army had retreated from the Falls and the Portage, and reembarked hastily for William Henry.

We have seen already that Montcalm was a christian soldier. He proved it once more by having a big cross erected on the site of his victory, with these two lines :

Quid dux ? Quid miles ? Quid strata ingentia ligna
En signum ! En victor ! Deus hic, Deus ipse triumphat.

Having composed himself this Latin inscription, which was a credit to his scholarship, he translated it in the following French verse.

Chrétien ! ce ne fut point Montcalm et sa prudence,
Ces arbres renversés, ces héros, leurs exploits,
Qui des Anglais confus ont brisé l'espérance,
C'est le bras de ton Dieu, vainqueur sur cette croix.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PRICE OF GLORY—VAUDREUIL'S EPISTLES

THE battle was fought and won. Montcalm had saved the colony. And his victory had given him an immense prestige. But after the first moments of exultation, very natural on such an occasion, he felt again the burden of public anxieties weighing heavily on his heart and mind. Carillon had been defended and protected but Abercromby could return; he had yet 14,000 soldiers and that strong army was not to be despised. Then what would be the fate of Louisbourg, and later on, of Frontenac?

But that was not all, Montcalm would have to submit to the same displeasure as the year before, after the fall of William Henry. As soon as the victory was won, M. de Vaudreuil who had failed to send the reinforcements in time, began to send them in excess after the crisis, and to write to the victorious general letters which were well calculated to exasperate him. Our readers must remember that after William Henry, Vaudreuil accused Montcalm of not having completed his victory in laying siege to Fort Lydius. This year he tried to show that Montcalm had neglected to reap the results of Aber-

cromby's defeat, because he had not driven the latter altogether from the lake St-Sacrement frontier. He deluged the general with a shower of letters urging him to send strong detachments, to harass the enemy, to take advantage of their terror, to cut off their communication to old Fort George, intercept their convoys, oblige them to retire, and thereby deprive them forever of all hope of renewing their attempt. All this was stated in a letter dated at Montreal, the 12th of July, and was repeated under different forms by the Governor, in his letters of the 15th, the 16th, and the 17th of July.

On the 15th he wrote: "I cannot sufficiently reiterate to you, Sir, all that I have had the honor to observe to you on that point. You are in fact now in a position to have constantly considerable detachments of Regulars, Canadians and Indians along the Lake and head of the Bay, to harass our enemies with vigor, to cut off their communication with Lydius, to intercept their convoys, to force them to retire and perhaps even to abandon their artillery, field train, bateaux, provisions, ammunition, etc.... This is of such great consequence that, so far from reducing the forces that I have destined for you, I have nothing more pressing than to increase them, and to hasten their departure to you. You have the *élite* of our officers, of our young men, of our Canadians and of our Indians."

Again on the 16th: "I cannot forbear having the honor again of renewing to you, Sir, all the observations I have submitted to you in my last letter. You cannot want for canoes, Canadians and Indians, to send out large detachments. We could not have a finer opportunity to oblige

the enemy to retire from old Fort George." And on the 17th: " You perceive, Sir, that I have not neglected anything for the prompt conveyance to you of a great number of Indians and the *élite* of our Canadians. You have now a very considerable force; therefore, we have nothing better to do, as I have had the honor to observe to you, than to employ them, without the loss of a moment, in vigorously harassing our enemies, etc.... What I have had the honor to write to you on this subject in many of my letters, merits, Sir, your attention. Your brilliant affair must not remain incomplete.... These reasons, Sir, lead me to defer writing to France, because, in rendering the Court an account of your brave affair of the eighth of this month, I hope to inform it that we have not neglected the great advantage of the retreat and discouragement of our enemies, and that we have rendered it impossible for them to make any new attempts at least for this year." (1)

Montcalm smarted under these lectures on the art of making victory fruitful. He addressed to the governor very sharp rejoinders. " It is always astonishing," he wrote, " that the Marquis de Vaudreuil considers himself qualified at a distance of fifty leagues to determine operations of war in a country he has never seen, and where the best Generals, after having seen it, would have been embarrassed. The Marquis de Vaudreuil forgets that the army (English) was at least 20,000 strong, and according to several prisoners 25,000. Supposing that it had lost in killed and wounded 5,000 men, that a portion of

(1) *Paris Documents*, pp. 759-760.

the Provincials had returned, they would still have 12 or 14,000 men, and consequently the superiority in the field, and would be at liberty to do what they pleased in their country.... The Marquis de Vaudreuil will find in my observations some distrust of him; this will never prevent me applying myself to the good of the service and of the Colony without embarrassing myself with what people might write against me, either directly or indirectly. But I do not conceal from the Marquis de Vaudreuil, that I shall be able to demonstrate to him on my return to Montreal, that, if he has had the goodness in his despatches of last year to pay me some eulogiums which I cannot merit, he did not omit persuading the Minister of Marine that he had supplied me with the means of laying siege to Lydius.... Were I so fortunate, Sir, as that your important occupations would permit you to be at the head of the army, you would see everything yourself, and I should have the satisfaction to receive clearer and less embarrassing orders, and you would have judged that I have combined boldness, prudence and some activity.

All this however did not prevent the Colony being played for on the eighth of July, odd or even (*de pair ou non*)..... M. d'Aillebout is arrived this moment and hands me the letter you have done me the honor to write me on the 15th. As it generally contains only the same things you have done me the honor to write me on the 12th, I have already answered them, whereunto I shall add, that I shall not be able to send large detachments by Lake St-Sacrement until I have reestablished my camps at the Falls and Portage, and sent over bateaux

and canoes, a manœuvre which is done only when executed, and advances less expeditiously in fact than in theory. Up to this time I have done impossibilities in Canada with my slender means. I shall endeavor to do my best and require no spur..... To profit by the fear of enemies, would require to be in a condition to pursue them the very next day.⁽¹⁾ An army that can be pursued only by detachments ten or twelve days afterwards, gets rid of its fright"⁽²⁾

During all this correspondence, Montcalm's temper ran high. We read in his *Journal*: "A letter from the Marquis de Vaudreuil; a sequel to the captious dispatches; a snare unskilfully laid, because I was prepared for it. Ononthio (Vaudreuil) says: "That victory must yield great results, I send you all the troops. Rather safe occasion to expulse the enemy from lake St-Sacrement, to make the colony rich with artillery, barges," etc. What means does Ononthio give to drive away from their position 15,000 men who are getting intrenched, and are well supplied for two months? No doubt he gives an army superior in numbers, well supplied with victuals, artillery, etc. No: neither victuals, nor the necessary outfit for *portage*. What do the Marquis de Vaudreuil's letters mean? and why, laboring under the scarcity of victuals, does he send obstinately that number of men who will serve only in eating our provisions? It is for the purpose of being

(1) On the 8th of July Montcalm had no Indians and few Canadians. That was the reason why he did not pursue Abercromby. "If I had had two hundred Indians to head a detachment of one thousand picked men, under M. de Lévis' command, not many of the enemy would have escaped." Montcalm à Doreil, 8 juillet, 1758.)

(2) *Paris Documents*, pp. 757, 758, 759.

enabled to write to the Court : "The Marquis de Montcalm had beaten the enemy ; they had retreated to the bottom of lake St-Sacrement, dispirited, and in great confusion ; immediately I had sent to him all the forces of the colony so that he could drive them from their position and profit by his own victory. He could do it, but he did not do it." Here is the motive ; here is the secret thrust of this year. That of last year was : "He could take Fort Edward ; I have supplied him with means to do it ; but he would not do it." (1)

Nothing could be more unfortunate than this quarrel between the two leaders. No doubt, Montcalm was not faultless during all these squabbles. He was too touchy, too impulsive, too easily irritated. But we must state frankly that Vaudreuil's conduct was exasperating. Montcalm was on the frontier, overladen with heavy cares and dreadful responsibilities, facing boldly a formidable enemy, giving his nights and his days to the work of checking invasion, spending his strength, his brains, his health to that purpose, risking his life and, more than his life, his fame to save New-France, and achieving glorious victories amidst awful odds and perils. And at the same time, Vaudreuil, who had absolutely no experience nor instruction in war matters, comfortably seated in his château at Montreal, eighty leagues from the enemy, pretended to teach the brilliant general his own art, and to show, with pen and ink, how military wonders could be accomplished and miracles be realized. There may be strategists in

(1) *Journal de Montcalm*, pp. 407, 408, 409.

chamber. Moltke was one of them ; he could, from his private office at Berlin, direct the moves of big armies and lead them to success. But Vaudreuil was no Moltke. He was a man of slender parts and was not luminous enough to shed his spare light on others. Instead of dictating war plans, he should have limited his ambition to the task of helping the military chiefs and seeing, as far as possible, that they were not hampered for want of means.

This epistolary war raged for three weeks. Vaudreuil's parting shot was that Montcalm had ill treated the Indians and that they would not serve any more under him. Montcalm's answer was that his only crime had been to try to prevent them from pillaging the provisions of the hospital and of private persons, and of refusing them brandy. "Facts, said he, ought to be believed in preference to words. Indians you are aware, do only what they like ; but evil spirits often suggest to them and make them say in councils things they do not think of. The respect I owe you, Sir, has prevented me writing to you that they have, in full council, complained of you having detained them whilst wishing to fly to our succor. They stated so both in public and in private. I made the public keep silent." (1)

Montcalm felt however that matters could not continue in this way. He was really devoted to the public good, and saw very well that these dissensions were fatal to Canada. So he generously made an effort towards conciliation. On the second of August he sent to the Governor

(1) *Paris Documents*, p. 811.

a long letter which deserves to be quoted at some length : " Be assured, Sir," he wrote " that the personal matters of which I complain, and which I really impute to the composers of your letters, to the turbulent and mischief-making spirits who are seeking to estrange you from me, will never diminish either my zeal for the public good, nor my affection for you, nor my constant attention to write nothing but good of you and your brother, and not to speak of, nor afford a favorable coloring to things on which I think you have not fully determined. Wherefore should you not act in the same manner by me. Why not alter your secretary's style. Why not give me more of your confidence ? I dare say the King's service would gain thereby, and we should not have the air of disunion, which transpires to the degree that I send you a New-York newspaper which mentions it.

" You believe, Sir, you are not to blame ; I, that I am not ; for I think I have always been prodigal of advances to you, and have given way more than any other man in order to agree in opinion with you on all occasions. But false reports are made to you, efforts are made to embitter you ; for myself, I shall forget, although what you have written last year pain me ; I think you have not weighed its consequences, and I flatter myself, you will never have reason to suspect my military conduct, when I do all that I know how.... Those who approach you have the ill address to endeavor, contrary to your intentions, to engage you to mortify, without wishing to do so, the General, the troops of the line and all that. What need have you, Sir, after my three years service under your orders, to prescribe

to me useless or minute details, which I should blush to prescribe to a lowest captain ; that proceeds from your secretary having but one mould wherein to fashion instructions and letters for all officers, from me down to the Colonial ensign. I have already had the honor to tell you that we do not think ourselves wrong, neither the one nor the other of us. It is to be supposed, then, that we are both so, and that some change must be applied to our mode of proceeding. For me, Sir, I shall neither answer complaiuts on your part, nor seek to justify myself, nor furnish you any memoir except when you will require it it of me or the King's service shall really be interested. You will write to me or act as you please in the matter. If it be well in my regard, I shall be very grateful, and shall so express myself to you ; if ill, my silence will teach you that I am not. But I flatter myself that I shall not find myself in this case, after so frank a letter on my part, and which will prove to you that I am really willing to preserve your friendship and deserve your confidence until my departure ; for I request you to demand my recall on account of my health and of my debts. The Minister might suppose that I am induced to ask it because of my dissatisfaction with you, Sir ; that is also true, but you have at hand the remedy on this point, and you have it not on the other two." (1) This was a loyal and manly letter. The character of the man who wrote it was impressed on every line. It told of frankness, of sincerity, of public spirit, of generosity and patriotism.

(1) *Paris Documents*, p. 778.

Not only did Montcalm write this letter, but he sent his aide-de-camp, Bougainville to Montreal to see the governor and make every effort to reestablish good understanding. For a time, peace seemed to reign. Frontenac having fallen before an English army at the end of August, Vaudreuil asked Montcalm to go to Montreal and hold a conference with him regarding the situation.

We have seen in Montcalm's last letter to Vaudreuil that he had asked for his recall. He had done so as early as the 12th of July. In a letter to Marshal de Belle-Isle, Minister of War, after having announced to him the glorious victory of Carillon, he added: "For myself, I do not ask you any other favor than to procure me the King's leave to return. My health suffers, my purse is exhausted. At the end of the year I shall owe the treasurer of the Colony ten thousand crowns (écus). And, more than all, the trouble and contradictions I experience, the impossibility in which I am placed of doing good and preventing evil, determine me earnestly to pray His Majesty to grant me this favor, the only one for which I am ambitious." And Vaudreuil had most willingly seconded his demand in a letter to the Minister of Marine, dated the 20th of August: "I supplicate you to demand of His Majesty the recall of the Marquis de Montcalm. He desires it himself and has requested me to demand it of you.... The King having confided the colony to me, I cannot avoid anticipating the unfortunate consequences which the Marquis de Montcalm's longer sojourn might produce..... The regular troops will be highly flattered to remain under the command of Chevalier de Lévis."



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But after the fall of Frontenac, Montcalm changes his mind. He writes to the Minister of war : " I had demanded my recall after the glorious day of the eighth of July, but since the affairs of the colony are getting bad, it is my duty to repair them or to retard their ruin to the greatest extent of my power. I wish my intentions may be seconded ".

Montcalm did not want to abandon Canada in its hour of gloom.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1758—BOUGAINVILLE IN FRANCE— VAUDREUIL'S LETTERS.

As a whole the campaign of 1758 had been very bad for Canada. Frontenac had surrendered and so had Louisbourg. On the frontier of Lake Champlain alone had the enemy's advance been checked by Montcalm's victory at Carillon. It was evident that the English would make, a supreme effort next year, and send powerful armies against the French Colony. Without strong help from France the defence of the country would be impossible. Provisions, ammunition, soldiers were wanted, and if these reinforcements were not sent early in the spring of 1759, the fate of Canada was sealed. Such was Montcalm's appreciation of the situation, and, under these circumstances, he thought that it would be greatly desirable to send "an officer of intelligence and capable of instructing the Minister of Marine on every point." Vaudreuil concurred in this idea, and Montcalm was fortunate enough to induce him to select M. de Bougainville for that mission. In the mean time, M. Doreil, commissary of war, obtained leave to go to France. They were both entrusted with the task of laying before the Court, every possible inform-

ation and to expose the urgent wants of the colony. They left for France on the 12th of November. Vaudreuil and Montcalm had given them letters for the Ministers. But the Governor's character was manifested on this occasion, in a very peculiar and discreditable way. In his letter of introduction for Bougainville,—a letter that was to be delivered by that officer himself,—Vaudreuil said : " He is in all respects better fitted than any body else to inform you of the state of the colony. I have given him my instructions, and you can trust entirely in what he tells you." ⁽¹⁾ To M. Doreil he gave a letter containing these lines : " I have full confidence in him, and he may be entirely trusted. Everybody here likes him." ⁽²⁾ These were splendid certificates. But at the same time, with the same pen, the Governor wrote to the Minister of Marine : " In order to condescend to the wishes of M. de Montcalm, and leave no means untried to keep in harmony with him, I have given letters to MM. Doreil and Bougainville ; but I have the honor to inform you, Monseigneur, that they do not understand the colony, and to warn you that they are creatures of M. de Montcalm." ⁽³⁾ It is to be regretted for M. de Vaudreuil that these letters were written by him and were kept in the ministerial archives of France. " Trust them.—Do not trust them." These words written of the same men, on the same day reveal the duplicity of

⁽¹⁾ Le Marquis de Vaudreuil au Ministre de la Marine. 4 novembre 1758.

⁽²⁾ Le Marquis de Vaudreuil au Ministre de la Guerre. 11 octobre 1758.

⁽³⁾ Le Marquis de Vaudreuil au Ministre de la Marine. 3 novembre 1758.—*Patriotique Moniteur des Amis de la Patrie*. II. p. 173.

Vaudreuil. It can be seen that reconciliation between the governor and the general was more apparent than real. On the first and fourth of November, the former wrote to the Minister in very disparaging terms against the latter.

The campaign was over. The troops had taken their winter quarters. Montcalm was again at Montreal. Before leaving Carillon, he had written to his wife: "Thanks to God! all is over now until the first days of May. If God does not decide otherwise, we shall have to fight mightily during the next campaign The enemy have had this year at Louisbourg; here, or at the Beautiful River, fifty or sixty thousand men in the field; and, we, how many did we have? I dare not tell it. Adieu, my heart, I long after peace and thee; love me all. When shall I see again my Candiac. My health has to be good, but work tells upon it; here we must be every thing and in touch with every thing; this is a good school for learning details. I love you more than ever." On the 21st of November, by the last ship leaving Canada for France, he writes to his mother. "You will be glad to have me write to you up to the last moment to tell you for the hundredth time that, occupied as I am with the fate of New-France, the preservation of the troops, the interest of the state, and my own glory, I think continually of you all. We did our best in 1756, 1757 and 1758; and so, God helping, we will do in 1759, unless you make peace in Europe."

Montcalm had now been in Canada for nearly three years. He had fought glorious battles but he had also studied, observed, gathered information, and in that manner he had acquired a thorough knowledge of the country,

of its conditions, of its requirements, of its weakness and possibilities, of the shameful abuses and administrative vices under which it laboured, and which were as instrumental as the armies of Pitt in bringing about its fall. After having read Montcalm's writings, after having had for many weeks constant intercourse with the records of this great man, we have no hesitation in saying that he was not only a soldier, but also, and perhaps above all, a thinker, a statesman, a political philosopher, a man who could govern, speak and write. He was by far the most remarkable and brilliant figure among all those who were connected with the destinies of New-France at that moment. By his scholarship, his wide range of information, his vast experience reaped during his many campaigns in Italy, in Germany, and during his thirty-four years of service, by his wit, his lively style, his warm eloquence, in a word by that variety of talents which were united in his person, he towered above the short-sighted and narrow-minded Vaudreuil, who sinks into insignificance besides his lofty qualities. The latter was not able to understand him. In September he had asked Montcalm for a memoir on the general situation and defence of the Colony. The pages he received in answer were brimming with new and fruitful ideas, with bold views, with wise suggestions.⁽¹⁾ In reading these, the slow and routine-worshipping governor recoiled in horror and detestation. He denounced to the Minister "the fallacy of the memoir, the passion with which it was drawn up, the desire of carping at the govern-

(1) *Paris Documents*, X, p. 874.

ment, the hankering after innovation." Too much light is dangerous to certain eyes. Vaudreuil was a good private man, honest, disinterested for himself, and desirous of promoting the public welfare. But he was sluggish, conceited, deficient in learning, scandalously weak for his relatives and blind to their faults, vain, boastful and punctilious, and utterly incompetent for the duties of his office.

Montcalm was also intellectually superior to Lévis, although the Chevalier was a clever man; he had superior knowledge, more elevation, a higher culture and nobler aims. The character of Lévis has not been thoroughly and deeply studied yet. It does not at all agree with the conventional picture that has been sometimes offered to posterity as its true likeness. He was an intelligent and well educated man, without being a scholar. He had not a great knowledge of books, but possessed a useful science of men. He was cool-headed, collected, cautious, clear-sighted, and shrewd. Master of the art of living well with everybody, he was always skilful enough to avoid being implicated in other people's quarrels, and could trim his sails so cleverly as to remain friendly with men bitterly estranged by prejudice or ambition. So it was that Vaudreuil was unceasing in his praise towards him, and that Montcalm always gave him his entire confidence. A talented soldier and an accomplished courtier, he constantly rose in rank, honours and wealth, when many of his associates in early life remained half-way or sunk into disgrace or oblivion. After having begun his career as a *cadet de famille* and a modest lieutenant, he died a marshal of France, a duke and peer, a governor of Artois and Arras,

with pensions, emoluments and allowances amounting to 97,470 francs. We are aware that the pictures we have drawn of Montcalm, Vaudreuil, and Lévis, are not those of several historians of repute, but impartial study of a large number of documents, many of which have never been published, will permit no other conclusions.

Montcalm, especially, has been very differently treated, and assigned a much lower rank. He had undoubtedly many failings, he was impulsive and quick tempered. It has been said that he was ambitious. No doubt he was. But his ambition was not of a low order.

He aimed at the *bâton* of Marshal and at a seat in the Academy, and he would have likely attained both in due time had he returned to France after Carillon. He has been accused of being a jealous man. We are unable to detect that in his *Journal*, in his letters, in his many writings. He is always profuse of praise for Lévis, for Bourlamaque, endeavouring on all occasions to put his lieutenants in a favorable light, asking for them promotion and distinction. But he was jealous of Vaudreuil it is said. He was not. He did not like him; he thought him dull, weak minded, unequal to his great responsibilities. But this is not jealousy. Montcalm had imperfections and was not irreproachable. We have pointed already to some of his failings and mistakes. But with all his faults and weak points, the sterling qualities of his heart and mind made him a most interesting, striking and fascinating personality.⁽¹⁾

(1) In a letter of Marshall de Belle-Isle, dated the 31st of July 1748,

All this is a digression. Let us return to facts. The winter of 1758-59 was a repetition of the preceding. Montcalm went to Quebec on the 22nd of September and stayed there until the beginning of March. He occupied again his house on Rampart street, paid his usual visits to the *Rue du Parloir*, and was seen far too often at the Intendant's Palace and at Mde. Péan's. To Lévis, who had no right to be severe,⁽¹⁾ he excused himself on account of his forced inactivity.

The harvest was considered better than in the previous year. Nevertheless the distress was again very great. We read in Montcalm's Journal : "The harvest in the colony is not so good as it was thought at first, specially in the Quebec government. The reduction to four ounces of bread a day is spoken of." In January Montcalm wrote : "Awful distress in the Quebec government." And immediately : "Balls, amusements, country parties, big gambling." The same scandals as in 1758! A few weeks after, he wrote again : "Pleasure parties in spite of the public distress and of the impending loss of the colony, have been unceasing at Quebec. Never have so many Balls taken place, nor such gambling notwithstanding the defence of last

M. Doreil, the commissary of war, wrote the following : "Whether the war is to continue or not, if it be desirous to serve and settle Canada solidly, let His Majesty confide the general government of it to the Marquis de Montcalm. He possesses political science as well as military talent; a statesman and a man of detail, a great worker, just, disinterested even to scruple, clear-sighted, active, and having nothing in view but the public good, in a word, a virtuous and universal man."

(1) M. de Lévis was very intimate at Montreal with Mrs. Pénisseault, the wife of the famous Pénisseault, one of the chiefs of the clique who were bleeding Canada to death.

year. The Governor-General and the Intendant have authorised it."

During all this winter, Montcalm's heart was full of sadness, and his mind full of gloomy thoughts. He was afraid to look into the future. On the 14th of January he wrote to Lévis : " Peace, or everything will go wrong. Seventeen hundred and fifty-nine will be worse than 1758. What shall we do ? I see darkness ahead ! " Montcalm knew that the next campaign would be fatal to Canada, if some unexpected change did not take place. He saw the colony a prey to a clique of knaves and thieves. He was far from the mother country, far from his dear home, his never forgotten Candiaco, his beloved mother, wife and children. And his heart sometimes was full to overflowing. In one of these moments he burst into, this eloquent exclamation : " O King, worthy of being more faithfully served ; (" dear country crushed with taxation in order to enrich robbers and vampires, with the general complicity ! Shall I keep my innocence as I have done heretofore amidst corruption ? I shall have defended this colony, I shall carry a debt of 10,000 écus, and I shall see rich a Ralig, a Caban, a Cécile, a lot of men without faith, of scoundrels interested in the provisioning undertaking, heaping up in one year four or five hundred thousand francs, and making lavish and insulting expenses ! "

Montcalm had gradually gathered sufficient information to see through the scandalous and criminal organization

(1) King Louis XV was not worthy of being served by such men as Montcalm. But the general was a man of his own time. For him *the King was the Country*.

which was devouring the substance of Canada. Bigot; Péan, who had gone to France recently with a fortune, Descheneaux Bigot's Secretary, Cadet the Contractor-General, etc., formed a kind of a league to plunder and pillage New-France. It was robbery all round. Montcalm's piercing eye had detected all this. His honest heart chafed at such a spectacle. At last he felt bound to inform his Minister of what was going on. On the 12th of April, he wrote to the Marshal of Belle-Isle: "Canada will be taken this campaign, or assuredly during the next, if there be not some unforeseen good luck, a powerful diversion by sea against the English Colonies, or some gross blunders on the part of the enemy.

" The English have 60,000 men, we at most 10 to 11,000. Our government is good for nothing; money and provisions will fail. Through want of provisions, the English will begin first; the farms scarcely tilled, few cattle, the Canadians are dispirited; no confidence in M. de Vaudreuil or in M. Bigot. M. de Vaudreuil is incapable of preparing a plan of operations. He has no activity; he lends his confidence to empirics rather than to the General sent by the King. M. Bigot appears occupied only in making a large fortune for himself, his adherents and sycophants. Cupidity has seized officers, store-keepers; the commissaries also who are about the River St. John, or the Ohio, or with the Indians in the Upper County, are amassing astonishing fortunes. It is nothing but forged certificates legally admitted. . . . This expenditure, which has been paid at Quebec by the Treasurer of the Colony, amounts

to twenty-four millions. The year before, the expenses amounted only to twelve or thirteen millions. This year they will run up to thirty-six. Every body appears to be in a hurry to make his fortune before the Colony is lost, which event many, perhaps, desire, as an impenetrable veil over their conduct. The craving after wealth has an influence on the war, and M. de Vaudreuil does not doubt it. Instead of reducing the expenses of Canada, people wish to retain all; how can we abandon positions which serve as a pretext to make private fortune? Transportation is distributed to favorites. The agreement with the contractor is unknown to me as it is to the public. It is reported that those who have invaded commerce participate in it. Has the King need of purchasing goods for the Indians? Instead of buying them directly, a favorite is notified, who purchases at any price whatever; then M. Bigot has them returned to the King's stores, allowing a profit of one hundred and even one hundred and fifty per cent, to those who it is desired to favor. Is artillery to be transported from France? carts carriages to be made? M. Mercier, commandant of artillery, is the contractor under other people's names. Every thing is done hasty and in hasty time. The officer who came out twenty years ago a simple soldier will be sent with about six or seven hundred thousand francs, perhaps a million if these things continue. I have often respectfully spoken to M. de Vaudreuil and M. Bigot of these expenses, each throws the blame on the other. The people demand of these expenses the depreciation of the paper money of the country. The effect is the Canadians will be put

participate in those illicit profits, hate the Government.”⁽¹⁾

This eloquent letter did not however give an accurate idea of the situation. The scope of this biographical study does not permit us to go at further length into the details of the vast association for plundering, that spread its net over this unfortunate colony. Be it said to Montcalm’s honour that he detected its schemes and denounced it indignantly.

Could it be possible that Vaudreuil did not know what was going on, or that seeing it, he tried to protect the culprits, and first of all the Intendant? One of these two alternatives must be chosen: either stupidity or complicity. For it is an established fact that the governor defended Bigot. When the Minister of Marine made known his suspicions against the Intendant, a few months before the fall of the colony, M. de Vaudreuil wrote to him: “I cannot conceal from you, Monseigneur, how deeply M. Bigot feels the suspicions expressed in your letters to him. He does not deserve them, I am sure. He is full of zeal for the service of the King; but as he is rich, or passes as such, and as he has merit, the ill disposed are jealous, and insinuate that he has prospered at the expense of his Majesty. I am certain that it is not true, and that nobody is a better citizen than he, or has the King’s interest more at heart.”⁽²⁾ This letter alone would justify all Montcalm’s fits of temper against the poor governor.

(1) Montcalm au Maréchal de Belle-Isle, Montréal, 12 avril 1759.—*Paris Documents*, X, p. 960.

(2) Vaudreuil au Ministre, 15 octobre 1759.—Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe*, II, p. 31.

During that winter of 1759 the name of Bougainville came often under the pen or from the lips of Montcalm and the other leaders of the colony. They were anxious for tidings. Would he be successful? What news would he bring on his return? At last, spring began to set in. And on the 10th of May Montcalm's aide-de-camp arrived safely at Quebec. He was laden with honors and personal rewards granted by the King to the defenders of New-France; but as far as reinforcements were concerned, he had been unsuccessful. Montcalm was appointed lieutenant-general, Lévis Major-General, Bourlamaque Brigadier and Knight of St-Louis. The ministers wrote to the victor of Carillon eulogistic letters. Marshal de Belle-Isle, after having said that the King's government could not send the troops and supplies asked for, added: "How small soever may be the space you are able to hold, it is indispensable to keep a footing in North America; for if we once lose the country entirely, its recovery will be almost impossible. The King counts on your zeal, courage and persistency to accomplish this object, and relies on you to spare no pains and no exertions. Impart this resolution to your chief officers, and join with them to inspire your soldiers with it. I have answered for you to the King; I am confident that you will not disappoint me, and that for the glory of the nation, the good of the state, and your own preservation you will go to the utmost extremity rather than submit to conditions as shameful as those imposed at Louisbourg, the memory of which you will wipe out." With these words, the old Marshall was, unknowingly, sending to Montcalm his death-warrant. The

general answered simply. "I dare say I shall do every thing to save that unhappy colony, or die." He was going to keep his word.

Bougainville had brought him news from Candiac mingled with joy and sorrow. The marriage of his eldest son with an heiress was settled, and his eldest daughter was married to M. d'Espinouse. But on the other hand, at the last moment, Bougainville had heard that one of his other daughters was dead, he could not say which of them. "It must be poor Mirète said the unhappy father. I love her so much!" Before receiving this news he had written to his wife "Can we hope for another miracle to save us? I trust in God; he fought for us on the eighth of July. Come what may, his will be done! I wait the news from France with impatience and dread. We have had none for eight months, and who knows if much can reach us at all this year. How dearly I have to pay for the dismal privilege of figuring two or three times in the gazettes!" In the beginning of June, he wrote again: "Our daughter is well married. I think I would renounce every honor to join you again; but the King must be obeyed. The moment when I see you once more will be the brightest of my life. Adieu, my heart! I believe that I love you more than ever." Alas! never more was he going to see his noble wife in this world.

Bougainville had also brought the news that the English had directed a big armament against Quebec. On the 22nd of May Montcalm arrived in the capital and learnt that ten English vessels were at Bic. Vaudreuil followed him on the 23rd. And they prepared the defence. Five batta-

lions, the greater part of the Marine troops and the militia were ordered thither. It was decided to establish a fortified camp from the Sault Montmorency to the River St-Charles. During the whole of June the works of defence were pushed forward, redoubts built and batteries erected.

At the same time the British fleet, with its innumerable sails swelled by a most favorable easterly wind, was coming up the St. Lawrence. Each tide was bringing it faster and nearer. Twenty-two ships of line, thirty frigates and a multitude of transports bearing nearly nine thousand regulars and many thousand marines composed that powerful armada. On both shores an alarmed population noticed its advance with dread and dismay. At night, from village to village, from cape to cape, the light of numerous fires signalled the enemy's progress. On the 27th they were at Kamouraska ; on the 28th at l'Isle-aux-Coudres ; on the 9th of June at Cape Tourmente, where they remained some days before crossing the Traverse ; on the 25th at the Island of Orleans ; on the 27th they landed there and also at Pointe Lévis, on the south Shore. The third siege of Quebec had begun.

Admiral Saunders commanded the British fleet. The general officer at the head of the expedition was James Wolfe.

Montcalm and Wolfe were at Quebec ; the end of the seven years' struggle was near at hand. Our task is here finished. In another volume will be found the narrative of the Siege of Quebec, of the battle of the Plains of Abraham, and of the death of the two heroic leaders.

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS.

FIELD MARSIAL, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE EARL ROBERTS, K. G., V. C.

The portrait of Lord Roberts which faces the dedication of this volume, is from an excellent photograph, by Messrs Elliot & Fry, of London, who permitted a photogravure to be made for this work.

The dedication of these volumes was kindly accepted by Lord Roberts while in Bloemfonteine, and upon the return of his lordship to England a proof of the photogravure was submitted to him, and the engraving is now published with his approval and authority.

PORTRAITS OF GENERAL WOLFE.

It is difficult to reconcile the features of the various portraits which exist of General Wolfe, or to determine which conveys the most faithful representation of the hero of Quebec.

The earliest authentic portrait of Wolfe appears to have been painted by Highmore, about 1749, and to have been presented by Wolfe to his tutor at Greenwich, the Reverend Samuel Francis Swindon, to whose great great grand daughter, Miss. Armstrong, and her brother, Scobell Armstrong, Esqr., I am indebted for a photograph of the painting, and also for the interesting article which is annexed to these notes. This portrait was reproduced for the last edition of "Montcalm and Wolfe," by Parkman, but Mr. Armstrong considers the present engraving to be the only faithful reproduction of the painting.

The latest sketch of Wolfe is no doubt the profile in pencil by Hervey Smith, which was made on the field shortly before the General's death. For knowledge of the existence of this sketch I am indebted to Lord Dillon, of the Tower of London.

On the back of the frame containing this sketch there is the following inscription: "This portrait of General Wolfe, from which his bust was principally taken was hastily sketched by Hervey Smyth, one of his aids-de-camps a very short time before that distinguished officer was killed on the Plains of Abraham. It then came into the possession of Edward Clinton, another of the General's aids-de-camps, who died afterwards at Gibraltar; and from him to Mrs. Simcoe, the Colonel's wife, daughter and heiress; then to Major General Darling (who was the Colonel Simcoe's son), and is now presented by His Grace the Duke of Newcastle-on-Tyne." Adwick, Jan. 25, 1852."

Another very fine portrait of Wolfe is preserved in the National gallery, London. The author has allowed the glass to be removed from the picture so that a good photograph might be taken. This painting probably represents Wolfe a few years older than he would have been in the date of the Vigoroux portrait. There is also a pencil Sketch in the gallery by the Duke of Newcastle. It is

A copy of the famous Copley portrait is also given in this work from a manuscript drawing by Mr. Scott, London.

The best sketch of Wolfe is from a fine watercolor print in my possession which was purchased from Messrs. Berry Stevens Son and their widow.

There is a small sketch of Wolfe in the British Museum. Mr. Burges will show you what it is. It is the best, and apparently the best known, sketch of Wolfe. It is executed by Hogarth after Stubbs, whose original sketch of Wolfe is also quite good. It was done during the English War.

In the British Museum is a sketch, which has recently been acquired by Mr. Burges, showing Wolfe seated at his desk. This engraving is from a drawing made by Mr. John Hazeley about 1750. It is a good drawing, and shows Wolfe seated at his desk, writing. He is holding a quill pen in his right hand, and a bottle of ink in his left. He is wearing a powdered wig, and a coat with a large collar.

Mr. Burges has a small sketch of Wolfe, which is in the British Museum. It is drawn in a sketchy style, and shows Wolfe seated at his desk, writing. He is holding a quill pen in his right hand, and a bottle of ink in his left. He is wearing a powdered wig, and a coat with a large collar.

possession of General Fowler Burton, C. B., of Stoke Damerel, Dartmouth, and has been in his family for generations. A copy was kindly sent by the General to the writer.

Many years ago Mr. E. A. Glover had in his possession two small paintings of Wolfe, which at one time belonged to Col. Stirling of the 36th Foot. One represented Wolfe tying a handkerchief round his wrist, and the other represented him leaning upon a soldier. They were believed to have been painted by one of Wolfe's friends who was present at the battle.

I have been unable to trace the present owners of these paintings.

Mr. Paul Leicester Ford contributed an excellent article to the Century Magazine in January 1898, on "Portraits of General Wolfe" with five wood cuts of the General.

There are several portraits of Wolfe, and a large number of prints to be found in private and public collections, but those already mentioned are probably amongst the best and most authentic.

The descriptive note of the "Highmore" portrait, which is here given, was written by Miss Armstrong for the Century Magazine, but it was not published.

AN UNKNOWN AND AUTHENTIC PORTRAIT OF GENERAL WOLFE.

The appearance of Mr. Ford's article on the portraits of Wolfe in the January Century, has suggested to me that the public may be interested in hearing that there is in existence an authentic portrait of General Wolfe, which has remained unknown in England because its owners have never exhibited it, or had it reproduced.

The portrait is in the possession of my Mother, Mrs. Armstrong of Nancealverne, Penzance. It was painted by Joseph Highmore, and given by Wolfe to his tutor, my great-great grandfather, the Rev. Samuel Francis Swindon; from whom it passed successively to his daughter Mrs. Gurnell and to her daughter who married my grandfather Col. John Armstrong. On the back of it is written the following inscription: "This is the portrait of Gen. James Wolfe painted by Highmore about the year 1749. The General sat for it for the express purpose of presenting it to his much esteemed friend and tutor the Rev. S. F. Swindon, it is the only portrait the General ever sat for; it represents him

in his ensign's uniform of the 20th. Regt. when he was preparing to join that corps on getting his first commission, which subsequently became so famous under his command. All other pictures of this renowned man are copies taken from a miniature, which was drawn from this picture by the desire and for the General's Mother after his lamented but glorious death."

This inscription was composed by my grandfather Col. Armstrong, and his authority for statements contained in it must have been his mother-in-law, Mr. Swindon's daughter, who lived till 1835.

After the publication of the late Mr. Francis Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe" a photograph taken from our portrait was sent by me to the historian, who had it reproduced as a frontispiece to the eleventh and subsequent editions of "Montcalm and Wolfe" (Vol. II.)

Owing to the shortcomings of the photograph, it gives very little idea of the original. Later I painted a small water colour copy of the portrait, and sent it to Mr. Parkman whose cordial and appreciative thanks were a great pleasure to me.

Last year at the request of Messrs. Little and Brown, Mr. Parkman's publishers, we had the portrait again photographed, and the photograph has been excellently reproduced by Messrs. Goupil for the forthcoming illustrated edition of Mr. Parkman's works.

In the note relating to the first reproduction Mr. Parkman says : "It is believed that Wolfe never again sat for his portrait." That is our belief, and we claim that our portrait is the last, if not the only portrait for which Wolfe ever sat to a professional portrait painter. The reproduction and account of the Warde portrait given in the Century have convinced me that it cannot, as Mr. Parkman thought possible, be one of the copies mentioned by my grandfather. It evidently represents Wolfe at an earlier age than that at which Highmore painted him, and the strong likeness between the two portraits is just what one would expect between the portrait of a boy of fifteen and that of the same boy grown into a man and developed in body and mind.

Of the other supposed Wolfe portraits reproduced in the Century it is sufficient to say that they represent a handsome young man with a straight nose and large eyes, and bear not the slightest resemblance to the Warde portrait, our portrait, the full length engraving of Wolfe with a black band round his arm, and the profile sketches of Wolfe in the National Gallery.

Writing to me, Mr. Parkman said of my water colour copy: "One sees in it—what the photograph fails to show—the germ as it were of those odd facial lines which appear in the later profiles and in the monument in Westminster Abbey."

Those odd facial lines which make Wolfe's face such a peculiar one are even more conspicuous in the original than in the photogravure. Though still softened to a certain extent by youth they are yet so marked that Mr. Parkman's description of Wolfe appearance in later life, might stand as a description of our portrait !

"The forehead and chin receded, the nose slightly upturned, formed with the other features the point of an obtuse triangle, the mouth was by no means shaped to express resolution, and nothing but the clear bright piercing eye bespoke the spirit within...." The expression of the eyes is a little lost in the photogravure, it is very bright and self confident. The uniform is faced with yellow.

I regret that I have not access to any of Wolfe's biographies, but I am told that his connection with Mr. Swindon is mentioned in them, and that one of them states that Wolfe was god-father to one of Mr. Swindon's daughters."

HER GRACE THE DUCHESS OF BOLTON, NÉE MISS KATHERINE LOWTHER.

It is singular that no reference is made to Miss Lowther in any of the letters of Wolfe which have so far been brought to light, although he undoubtedly mentioned her name to several of his intimate friends.

A facsimile of Wolfe's will has been made for this work, and in the first paragraph of this interesting document, which is entirely in the General's handwriting, directions are given for the disposal of Miss Lowther's picture.

On the 12th of September, 1759, a few hours before the battle of the Plains, Wolfe appears to have had a presentiment that he would not survive the issue of the coming day. In the course of a conversation with his friend John Jervis, the companion of his school days at Greenwich, he requested him to take charge of a miniature of Miss Lowther, and to restore it to her if his forebodings were realised. The miniature in question was taken to England by Commander Jervis, afterwards the Earl of St. Vincent, by whom it was probably handed to Captain Bell,

A. D. C. The Captain apparently delivered the picture to General Wolfe's mother, as we find a letter dated the 24th of November, 1759, in which "the Captain hopes that Mrs. Wolfe received the picture," the will, and other documents mentioned.

When Wright, the biographer of Wolfe, was engaged upon his book, he made inquiry regarding the picture as will be seen from the quotation from his work here given, but he was not successful.

"Miss Lowther remained unmarried until the 8th. of April, 1765, when she became the second wife of Harry, sixth and last Duke of Bolton. Her grace died at Grosvenor Square, in 1809, aged 75, leaving two daughters.

"I regret that, notwithstanding the courteous assistance of the Marquis of Winchester, my endeavours to discover whether the fore-mentioned portrait of the Duchess is still preserved, have proved ineffectual. Inquiries of her Grace's lineal representatives remain unanswered, owing probably to the recent death of the late Duke of Cleveland."

During the preparation of this work information concerning the miniature was sought from the lineal descendants of the Duchess of Bolton, and by the direction graciously given by Her Grace the Duchess of Cleveland, of Battle Abbey, and by Lord Bolton, of Bolton Hall, two distinct portraits of Miss Lowther have been found.

The plate inserted in this volume is from a miniature in the possession of Lord Barnard, of Raby Castle. It is believed to represent Katherine, Duchess of Bolton, and to be the work of the well known miniature painter, Cosway.

The engagement of General Wolfe to a Miss Lowther appears to have been well known in the county of Westmorland, but tradition has preserved the name of Miss Barbara Lowther, sister to Miss Katherine, as the fiancée of the General, to which fact Lord Barnard drew attention when sending the photograph of the miniature. The letter written by Miss Katherine Lowther from Raby Castle (1) on the 18th of December, 1759, which is here given, would seem to prove that tradition in this case is not correct.

(1) "Miss Lowther was probably on a visit to her sister, Margaret Countess of Darlington, whose husband, Henry, Earl of Darlington, succeeded to Raby in the previous year, 1758, on the death of his father."
—Extract from letter of Lord Barnard, 27 Sep. 1900.

" Mdm,

" Miss. Aylmer's having once answerd a letter I wrote Mrs. Wolfe, drew me into the error of addressing her again; but I now desire you to accept my sincere thanks for your obliging (tho') melancholy epistle. I'm not surpriz'd to hear ye patient sufferer submits with calmness and resignation to this severe trial, because I could never doubt the magnanimity of General Wolfe's mother;—but I wish, if her health wou'd permit, she cd. by degrees be brought to bear new objects; perhaps they might call her attention one moment from ye. melancholy subject which engrosses it, and in time dissipate, tho' not efface or drive away from ye. memory so just and deep a sorrow :—not that I shall ever attempt intruding my company, since (tho' I feel for her more than words can express, and should, if it was given me to alleviate her grief, gladly exert every power which nature or compassion has bestowed)—yet I feel that we are the ye last people in the world who ought to meet.

" I knew not my picture was to be set; but I beg Madm. ye will tell Mrs. Wolfe, I entreat her to take her own time about giving ye necessary directions. I can't, as a mark of His affection, refuse it; otherwise cou'd willingly spare myself ye pain of seeing a picture given under far different hopes and expectations. Mrs. Wolfe will, I hope, accept my acknowledgments for her good wishes, and that Almighty God may comfort and support her is ye earnest prayer of,

" Madam,

" Your obliged humble Servant,

" K. LOWTHER."

A copy of this letter was sent to Lord Barnard, who after reading it and showing it to a gentleman in the County, expressed his opinion that it was Miss Katherine Lowther to whom General Wolfe was engaged.

General Wolfe gave directions by his will for the picture of Miss Lowther to be set in jewels to the extent of five hundred guineas, and to be returned to her. A bill of a jeweller and a receipt for five hundred guineas for setting a picture is found amongst the papers at one time in the possession of Mrs Wolfe, and as the number of the large stones mentioned

Although unable to agree with the number of those found in the frame of the miniature in the possession of Lord Barnard, it is probable that it is the identical miniature worn by Wolfe, but no more positive assertion can be made on this point.

The present portrait of Miss Lowther in vol. II, is from a crayon drawing in the possession of the Earl of Lonsdale, of Lowther Castle, Penrith. A photograph of this crayon drawing was kindly sent for this work by the Committee of Lonsdale, who also directed the writer's attention to a tradition, to the effect that general Wolfe always wore a locket containing a portrait of Miss Lowther, which upon one occasion saved his life by hunting off a bullet.

The popular commemoration of the death of Wolfe formed a fruitful theme in the poets of the day. An anonymous author, departing from the usual form addressed "An Ode to Miss L.... On the Death of General Wolfe" which is published in the Annual Register for 1751.

Within the week of war is done
A conqueror to wear the battle's won,
And triumphs over the air
In the last mortal strife where
And here beneath Wolfe's hapless bier
His soul is at rest.

He had the love he durst not own
He had a soul unbent &
Calm & quiet &
He had the love he durst not own
He had a soul unbent &
Calm & quiet &

He had the love he durst not own
He had a soul unbent &
Calm & quiet &
He had the love he durst not own
He had a soul unbent &
Calm & quiet &

Yet weep no more, but nobly claim
A proud alliance with his fame,
And all his glory share :
His country's cause requir'd his aid ;
For victory to heav'n he pray'd,
And heav'n hath heard his pray'r.

His wound was honest, on his breast
Lay me in peace, and let me rest,
Th' expiring hero cry'd :
The pitying fates his death delay,
'Till heav'n for him declares the day
He heard, rejoic'd and dy'd."

The pedigree of the Lowther family traced by Lord Barnard, and the quotation from a work on "The Norman People" by an anonymous author, give many interesting details regarding this family.

NOTES TO ILLUSTRATIONS

111, Broad Street. March 12.

111, Newmarket Station, N. E. Main Street, N. E. Market Street

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In a book entitled "The Norman People" by an anonymous author, this reference to the Lowther family occurs:

Lowther, or Malcael. Hervey Ralph Malcael, Normandy 1180 (M. R. S.-Magn. Rotul. Scaccarii Normaniae in the Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de la Normandie). One of these paid a fine in the Bailifry of Coutances 1198 (ib.). Also Tieric Malus Catulus or Malcael, t. William I. had a grant of Crakanthorpe and other estates Westmorland. He granted lands to Holm Cultram Abbey, and had, 1. Ralph of Crakanthorpe, father of William Manchael, t. Stephen, whose son William Malus Catalus granted to Geoffry M. lands in Crakanthorpe 1179, and was ancestor of the Malcaels Lords of Crakanthorpe, and the family of Crakanthorpe; 2. Humphry Malcael, Lord of Lowther, who granted part of that church to Holm Cultram (Mon ii 74-Monasticon Anglicanum). His son Geoffry Mancannelle, t. Henry II. granted lands at Crakanthorpe to Alexander de Crakanthorpe and had issue William and Thomas de Lowther, who, 12th cent: witnessed a charter to Holm Cultram Abbey (ibid 428). Roger Malus Catulus, a third brother, was Vice Chancellor to Richard Coeur de Lion (Madox, exch. i. 77) From this family descend the Earls of Lonsdale, the Lords Crofton and the Baronets Lowther.

FAC-SIMILE OF LETTER OF GENERAL WOLFE.

Twelve very interesting letters addressed by Wolfe to his friend Colonel Rickson, are preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh. Through the courtesy of the members of the Council on the request of the Earl of Aberdeen, permission was granted for photographs to be taken of the letters, and Dr. Anderson, the Librarian, kindly selected two which he thought would be most suitable.

One is a letter of eight pages, which gives a description of the operations at Louisbourg, and the second, of three pages is reproduced as more convenient for the size of this volume.

Copies of the twelve letters are printed in the sixth volume, from a transcript made under the direction of Dr. Anderson. There letters with certain omissions, were published many years ago in Tait's Magazine.

THE PISTOLS OF GENERAL WOLFE

These weapons, which appear to be in an excellent state of preservation, were until quite recently, in the possession of Dr. Wm. R. Fisher,

of Hoboken, N. J., who held them in trust for the family of the late Dr. Edward Tudor Strong.

With the consent of Mrs E. T. Strong, of Elizabethtown, N. Y. Dr. Fisher had two negatives taken of the pistols, which he generously presented to the writer.

When Dr. Edward Tudor Strong was leaving for California several years ago, in search of health, he entrusted these relics of the siege to Dr. Fisher, who made a memorandum at the time of the tradition preserved in the family, which is here quoted in extenso.

"The sword is a dress sword, originally owned by Dr. Edward Tudor, who was surgeon in the British army in Queen Anne's reign. He was present at the siege of Quebec, and it is believed that General Wolfe died in his arms. The piece of sash is believed to have been worn by him on the occasion of this battle, and the stains upon it are believed to have been drops of Wolfe's blood. The pistols are believed to have belonged to General Wolfe, and to have been worn by him on the battle field."

"Dr. Tudor settled in Connecticut after the termination of the French war. His son, also Dr. Edward Tudor, left the sword and pistols to Dr. Edward Tudor Strong, of Elizabethtown, New York, a son of the second Dr. Edward Tudor.

Dr. Fisher when sending this memorandum also said that Doctor Strong was unable to prove by documentary evidence the authenticity of the relics and therefore he had used the term "it is believed" but the family tradition was positive, and to his mind convincing, as to the authenticity of the relics.

A fragment of Dr. Tudor's sash is also reproduced by permission of Dr. Fisher. When the sash came into the possession of Dr. Strong it was entire, but a member of the family cut it up and distributed portions of it. Dr. Strong was much grieved that the sash had not been preserved intact.

While this work was in the press, Dr. Fisher wrote stating that the pistols were about to be sold, and a few weeks after a letter was received from Mr. Ernest Bigelow, of New-York, informing the writer that he had purchased the weapons. They are now in Mr. Bigelow's possession.

Mr. Bigelow has had the pistols mounted in a case and has entrusted them to our care for a short time to be placed on exhibition

with the numerous souvenirs of the siege which have been gathered during the preparation of this work.

MANUSCRIPT BOOK OF MAJOR WOLFE'S GENERAL ORDERS

One of the most highly prized Souvenirs of the hero of Quebec, is a Manuscript Book of Major Wolfe's General Orders, preserved in the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall. The first order is dated February 12th. 1748, and the work is carried down to the evening preceding the victorious action in which he fell. This book was the property, and is partly in the handwriting of Capt. the Hon. Lionel Smythe 23rd. Regt. of Foot (afterwards 5th. Viscount Strangford.) who served throughout the war, and was during the greater part of the time A.D.C. to his kinsman Earl Percy.

A fac simile of the first page of this book forms the subject of an illustration for which we are indebted to Captain Wyly, who kindly permitted a photograph to be taken.

THE SOLDIER'S COAT UPON WHICH GENERAL WOLFE EXPIRED ON THE FIELD OF BATTLE, SEPTEMBER 13th. 1759, AND GENERAL WOLFE'S SWORD.

The Soldier's Coat upon which General Wolfe died on the Plains of Abraham is carefully preserved in a case in the Tower of London. Permission to obtain a photograph of this interesting relic was obtained from General Sir Hugh Gough, V. C. at the request of the Earl of Aberdeen, to whom we are deeply indebted.

The sword of General Wolfe is in the Library of the Royal United Service Institution, Whitehall. A photograph was taken for this work by permission of Captain Wyly.

The Cannon ball which is reproduced was found on the spot where the General fell. This is also in the same Institution.

THE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM.

Three portraits of the Marquis de Montcalm are included in this work.

The first is from a photograph of the original painting which was sent for this volume by the Marquis de Montcalm, Château d'Avène,

par le Vigand Garde, France, reproduced by Mr. Hyatt. The second is from a very fine engraving in the possession of Mr. Philéas Gagnon of Quebec, and the third is from a drawing in an album in the Ursuline Convent, Quebec, and is probably the work of one of the Nuns. The Marquis de Montcalm was buried in the chapel of the Ursulines.

Whether this portrait was made from a sketch taken of Montcalm, or from a painting or engraving of the Marquis, is not known.

The album of is of great interest, and contains examples of the work of the Nuns executed at different periods. We are indebted to the Ladies of the Community and to the Rev. Lionel, St. G. Lindsay, for permission to copy this portrait.

THE MARQUIS DE VAUDREUIL.

Permission to publish this portrait was courteously given by M. le comte Jacques de Clermont-Tonnerre of Château de Brugny, Marne, the owner of the painting. As an excellent photogravure had been made by Messrs Goupil & Cie of Paris, arrangement was made with Messrs Little Brown & Co of Boston, for the number of copies required for this edition. The authors desire to acknowledge the courtesy extended to them by Messrs Little Brown & Co.

MONSIEUR DE BOUGAINVILLE

The original painting from which this photogravure was made is in the possession of Madame la Comtesse de Saint-Sauveur-Bougainville.

The plate was made by Mr. Hyatt from a photograph sent by M. R. de Kerallain, of Quimper, France. In the centre of the frame, at the foot, a small eagle will be observed, which forms the ornament of a Louis XIV time piece standing on the mantle piece of the room in which the portrait hangs.

A very valuable painting of Madame Flore de Bougainville has been reproduced for this work though the courtesy of Madame la comtesse de Saint-Sauveur Bougainville. This painting has not been hitherto copied.

THE MARQUIS DE LÉVIS.

The most familiar portrait of the Marquis de Lévis appears to be the painting by Madame Haudibourg in the gallery at Versailles.

A particular interest, however, is attached to the photogravure which accompanies this volume as it is made from a copy of a painting in the possession of the Marquis de Lévis, sent to the authors for this work. We are unable to say which is the most faithful representation of the Marquis.

MODEL OF QUEBEC

Reference is made in several works published about a century ago to a large model of the city of Quebec, them in the course of construction. It appears to have been designed by Jean Baptiste Duberger with the assistance of Captain By, who gave his name to By-Town, now Ottawa. The model is thirty-five feet in length, and was taken to England in 1811, and deposited in Woolwich Arsenal.

It is claimed by one writer to have disappeared several years ago, but this is incorrect.

Through the courtesy of Major Boileau, R. A., a pass was obtained for a photograph to be taken of the model.

Mr. James Hyatt, of the Rembrandt Portrait Studio, London visited Woolwich arsenal and examined the model, but he found it situated in a very difficult position. By attaching a camera to the top of a ladder placed in an inclined position an excellent negative was obtained, from which the engraving in this volume was made. An enlargement of the negative was also executed by Mr. Hyatt from which it is seen that Mr. Duberger's work was carefully carried out in all its detail.

As the model was designed about forty years after the Siege of Quebec it will doubtless prove of some interest to those unfamiliar with the city. A description of the model from "Lambert's Travels" is here given.

"But before I quit the subject of the arts of Canada, a country seemingly more capable of supporting than creating genius, I must not omit to mention, with the approbation he deservedly merits, a gentleman of the name of Duberger, a native of that country, and an officer in the corps of engineers and military draughtsmen. He is a self taught genius, and has had no other advantage than what the province afforded him, for he has never been out of the country. He excells in the mechanical arts, and the drawing of military surveys, &c. He had the politeness to show me several of his large draughts of the country, and

many other drawings, some of which were beautifully done, and are deposited in the Engineer's office. The only correct chart of Lower Canada, and which was published in London, by Faden, in the name of Mr. Vondenvelden, was taken by Mr. Duberger and another gentleman, whose names had a much greater right to appear on the chart than the one which is at present there.

" But the most important of his labours is a beautiful model of Quebec, upon which he is at present employed, in conjunction with a school-fellow of mine, Captain By of the Engineers, whom I had the unexpected pleasure of meeting in Canada after an absence of ten years. The whole of the model is sketched out, and a great part is finished, particularly the fortifications and the public buildings. It is upwards of 35 feet in length, and comprises a considerable portion of the plain of Abraham, as far as the spot where Wolfe died. That which is done is finished with exquisite neatness ; cut entirely out of wood, and modelled to a certain scale, so that every part will be completed with singular correctness, even to the very shape and projection of the rock, the elevation and descents in the city, and on the plain, particularly those eminences which command the garrison. It is to be sent to England when finished, and will, no doubt, be received by the British Government with the approbation it merits. (1)

(1) " It is now deposited at Woolwich, 1813."

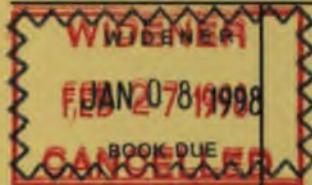
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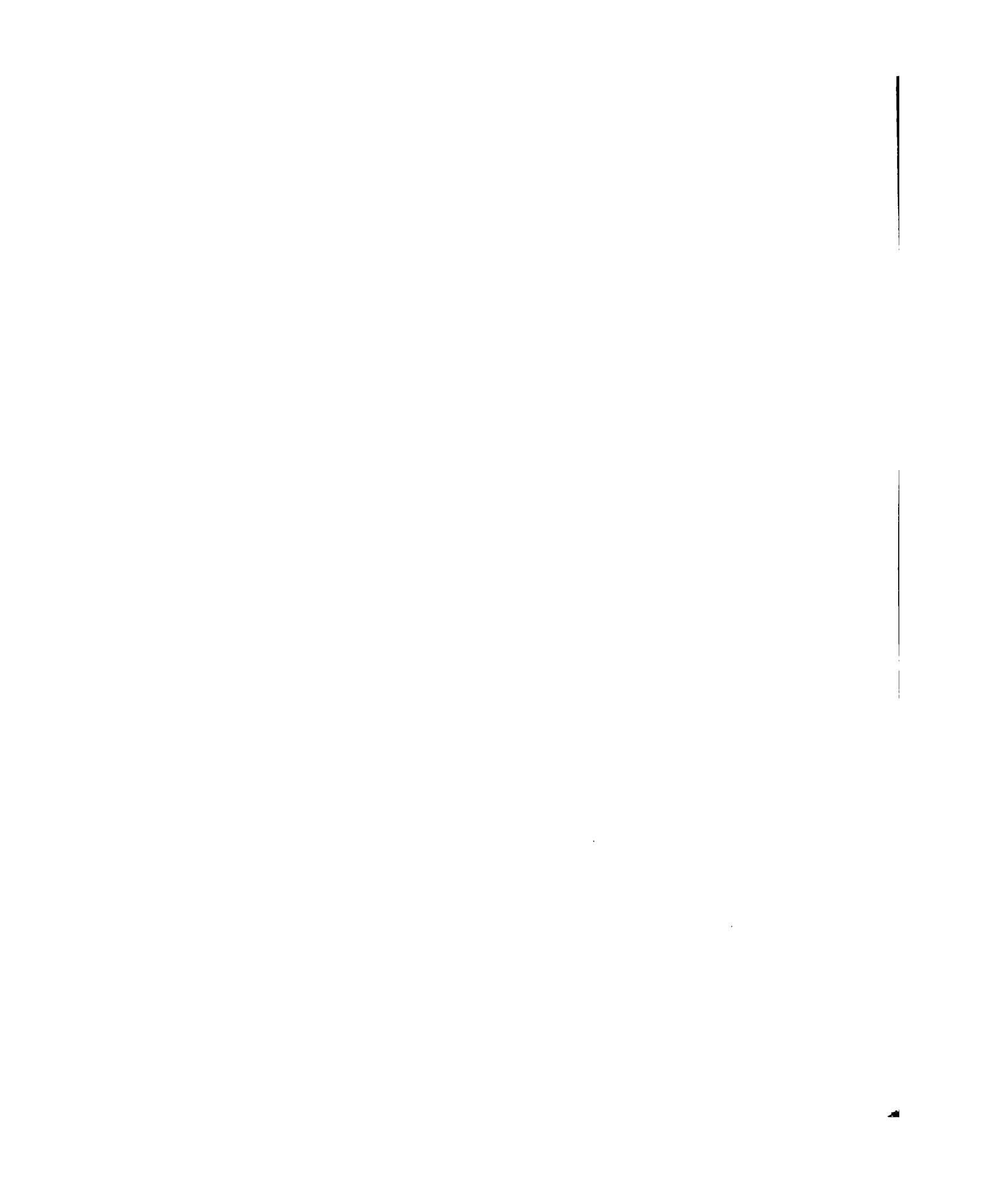


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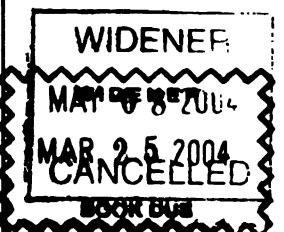


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